CMP-SPRCM-75-07

# SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B. C. C.

March 3-7, 1975

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No. 811-812
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SPRCM Editor's Note:

This issue of Hung-ch'i also carries, from page 5 to page 35, the Communique of the 2nd Session of the 10th CCP Central Committee, the Proclamation of the NPC on adoption of the Constitution, the full text of the Constitution, the report on the revision of the Constitution, the report on the work of the Government, the Resolution of the 1st Session of the 4th NPC on the report on the work of the Government, the Press Communique of the 1st Session of the 4th NPC, the list of members of the Presidium and Secretary-General of the 1st Session of the 4th NPC, the Proclamation of the NPC on election of chairman, vice chairmen and other members of the Standing Committee, and the Proclamation of the NPC on appointment of the premier, vice premiers, ministers, and ministers heading commissions of the State Council.

The above items are included in a special issue of Current Background on the NPC. Please see CB No. 1024, January 31, 1975.

## Quotations from Lenin

The transition from capitalism to Communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

.... The bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

* * *

## Quotations from Chairman Mao

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture.

Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in every factory, village, government office and school.

Our dictatorship is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. That is to say, democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while the working class, uniting with all others enjoying civil rights, and in the first place with the peasantry, enforces dictatorship over the reactionary classes and elements and all those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction.

An organization must have rules, and a state also must have rules; the Constitution is a set of general rules and is a fundamental charter.

We must maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary zeal and the same death-defying spirit as displayed in the past revolutionary war period, and carry our revolution through to the end.

* * *

# Conscientiously Study the Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Feb. 1, 1975)

The experience of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius shows the full necessity of conscientious study and research into the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the light of past and current class struggle in order for people to sharpen their understanding on the need for strengthening this dictatorship and heighten their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under it.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Marxism, as it came into being in the middle of the 19th century, put forward the slogan of substituting the dictatorship of the proletariat for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Then Lenin enriched and developed the Marxist teachings on the state by summing up the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia and time and again expounded the importance and necessity of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. In our country, Chairman Mao, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, has upheld and developed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat, advanced the theory of continuing the revolution under this dictatorship and formulated a basic line for us for the entire historical period of socialism, thus guiding the triumphant advance of China's socialist revolution.

It is more than a century since Marx and Engels raised the brilliant concept of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat and other working people of the world have advanced wave upon wave in this period in heroic, unremitting struggles to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives to achieve this goal. The degeneration of the world's first socialist state into a social-imperialist state as a result of revisionist rule is a very profound lesson for all revolutionaries and helps them to perceive more clearly how important it is for the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism after the seizure of political power. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat is a scientific synthesis of the experience the proletariat has accumulated in revolutionary struggle over the past century. It has an enormously rich content. It is a profound exposition of the laws governing the development of the proletarian revolution and such questions of the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism as the acuteness and complexity of class struggle, the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nature and tasks of the dictatorship and the ways in which it differs from the

dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the way to handle correctly contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people and the way to preserve and bring into play the role of the vanguard of the proletariat under the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the elimination of the differences between workers and peasants, town and country and manual and mental laborers, and the withering away of the State. It provides the orientation, road, principles and policies for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. It is of paramount significance for guiding our present socialist revolution and construction.

Ours is a socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this historical period, it is a matter of fundamental importance for the historical destiny of our Party and State and our proletariat and working masses whether to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the socialist road, eliminate the bourgeoisie and, through protracted struggle and transformation, gradually create conditions in which capitalism can neither exist nor revive or, contrariwise, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism, add soil for capitalism to grow and permit the landlord and capitalist classes to regain power and exploit and oppress the working people. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese people have over the past 20 years and more waged a series of revolutions in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields, including in particular the great proletarian cultural revolution and the present movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, all of which have been aimed at continuously solving this matter. To go on doing a good job in our revolution and construction and to insure success in our struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism, every communist, cadre, worker, peasant, PLA man and revolutionary intellectual must attach great importance to this question and must seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can they distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and implement in a still better way the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao says: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." Chairman Mao formulated this basic line in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and China's experience in revolution.

One cannot really understand and implement the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and the principles and policies involved, if one does not seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not grasp the laws of class struggle in the period of socialism, does not understand the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, does not grasp the nature and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and does not perceive the current class struggle and struggle between the two lines. If one's thinking on questions of theory and practice regarding continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is muddled, one cannot act firmly and may even commit errors. Lack of clarity on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie will lead to revisionism. Our revolutionary experience in the past two decades and in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius bears this out.

The Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat rests on the scientific analysis that classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist in socialist society. In speaking of the period of the transition from capitalism to communism, Lenin laid stress on the point that "this period inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute form." This is so because "the class of exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and it still has an international foundation and extensive social links, puts up desperate resistance and tries to convert its hope of restoration into attempts at restoration. This is so because "small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." This is so because the commodity economy "is alive, operating, developing and giving rise to a bourgeoisie," and degeneration takes place among Soviet functionaries, workers and Party members who are corrupted by bourgeois ideology. This is so because there is still a "bourgeois right in regard to the distribution of articles of consumption." This is also because the decadent bourgeois ideas, conventions and habits of every description fetter the minds of some people, and it will take a long time to solve this problem. Because of all this, Lenin repeated time and again that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms." Contrary to this, the old and new revisionists deny the existence of class struggle in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism. This is true for Bernstein and Kautsky, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao as well. The theory of "the dying out of class struggle" they spread is designed to oppose and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to preserve and restore capitalism.

Basing himself on the fundamental law of the unity of opposites, Chairman Mao points out that, in a socialist country like ours under the dictatorship of the proletariat, harmony as well as contradiction exist between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base even after the transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been basically

completed. "There are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over." On the economic front, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road does not end with the basic change in the system of ownership. Although cooperation has been achieved in China's countryside, the peasants have taken the broad road of socialism and the people's commune system has great vitality, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists have not stopped their sabotage, the survivals of small-scale production remain, a number of peasants retain their habits as small producers to varying degrees, spontaneous capitalist forces in the rural areas frequently crop up and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road remains sharp. It will take a fairly long historical period to complete the socialist transformation of the system of ownership in those aspects where it has not yet been accomplished. Likewise, the question of which line to follow exists in industrial, mining and other enterprises. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line guides us in keeping to the socialist orientation. But an organization in which the revisionist line has become dominant will change its nature, and its ownership will be socialist in form but capitalist in fact. In socialist society there still exist differences between workers and peasants, town and country and manual and mental laborers, and bourgeois rights remain as a reflection of these differences. To use the dictatorship of the proletariat to restrict and narrow these differences entails a protracted struggle. This means that while we do economic work we must pay keen attention to the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines and to solving problems regarding the relations of production. We must study conscientiously the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen our understanding of the principle of "grasping revolution and promoting production," raise our consciousness of the need to carry out the Party's basic line. Only by seriously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat can we penetratingly criticize the trash preached by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao such as fixing production quotas on the basis of individual households, material incentives and economism; repudiate capitalist tendencies and erroneous ideas and styles of work such as the slavish comprador philosophy, crawling behind at a snail's pace, and extravagance and waste; promote the development of socialist revolution on the economic front, and see to it that the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is fulfilled right through to factories, villages and all other grassroots units.

The Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat emphasizes the importance of the revolution in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. Bourgeois ideology remains in the political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres for a long time after the bourgeoisie is overthrown and serves as the chief means for its launching attacks on the proletariat and preparing public opinion for a capitalist restoration. Since classes and class struggle continue, bourgeois rights exist and bourgeois ideology corrupts people, new bourgeois elements and political degenerates may emerge from among a section of the Party members,

a section of the workers, and a section of the state cadres and intellectuals, in addition to the capitalism engendered among small producers. Therefore, "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture." That is why we must conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and use it in analysing, studying and dealing with class struggle in all spheres of the superstructure, so that we gradually clear away the influence of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and insure that Marxism takes over all fronts in the superstructure. Only when we truly grasp the significance and purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie can we transform consciously those parts of the superstructure that do not suit the socialist economic base and firmly support new socialist things in every sphere and be true promoters of the proletarian revolution.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle to insure that Marxism triumphs over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. A conscientious study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat provides a powerful motive force for broadening, deepening and persevering in this movement. Lin Piao peddled the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and spread a great many revisionist fallacies for the sole purpose of opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat. A study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat will enable us to better grasp the reactionary essence of Lin Piao's attempt at restoration and regression and to theoretically criticize penetratingly and thoroughly his revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This study will also guide us in making the past serve the present in our research into the history of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole and enable us to derive fairly profound historical experience and lessons conducive to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The emergence of Lin Piao, as in the case of all other revisionists, was neither an accident nor a question of one person. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique represented a whole class, stemmed from a class root and had a social basis. A study in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat will help us understand deeply what gives rise to revisionism and this will help us carry out better the struggle on all fronts to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Every communist, cadre, worker, peasant, People's Liberation Army man and intellectual should study, comprehend and grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road are bound to find expression in people's minds. Every communist and revolutionary is confronted with the question of whether he is able to persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to persist in this revolution. This being the case, the study of theory should be closely linked with concrete ideological conditions so that a sustained effort is made to change one's subjective world while changing the objective world. Chairman Mao says: "In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remolding--the exploiters and also the working

people." "Everyone should study and remold himself." Can the worker, peasant and soldier masses continue to heighten their communist awareness, resist corruption by capitalist ideology and style of work, and preserve the true revolutionary color of the working people? Can the intellectuals continue to use Marxism in remolding their stand, viewpoint and method, criticize idealism and metaphysical ideas, persevere in serving proletarian politics and in integrating with the worker-peasant masses? Do Communists and revolutionary cadres, in performing a task, think of themselves first or wholeheartedly dedicate themselves to the revolution and serve the people? Do they demand of themselves according to the criteria laid down for the advanced elements of the proletariat or reduce themselves to the level of the ordinary working masses or even to that of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie? Do they persist in closely uniting over 95 percent of the masses and cadres for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat or practice sectarianism and splittism? All these are questions concerning world outlook and must be conscientiously resolved through a study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Leading cadres of the Party should be in the van in this study and do it well. Our Party's basic program is to thoroughly overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, use socialism to triumph over capitalism, and ultimately achieve communism. This program is put forward in accordance with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when we comprehend this theory can we know how to carry out this program, persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain constant vigilance against corruption by bourgeois ideology, and persist in "combating self-interest and criticizing revisionism." Only in this way can we preserve our vigorous revolutionary fighting will and meet the demand imposed on us by Chairman Mao: "Maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary zeal and the same death-defying spirit as displayed in the past revolutionary war, and carry our revolutionary work through to the end."

In a speech on the Marxist theory of the State delivered at a university after the October Revolution, Lenin told the audience: "I also hope that besides listening to lectures, you will spend some time reading at least several of the principal works by Marx and Engels." This is also true for our study. In order to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat still better, in addition to studying "Critique of the Gotha Program," "The State and Revolution," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and other Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's work that are required reading, we may select some other works to read, such as Lenin's "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "A Great Beginning" and Chairman Mao's "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" and "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." Also, we may extract some theses and quotations by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat for study by the broad masses. The basic method for really grasping the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is an assiduous reading of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and it must be done

diligently. Typical cases should be investigated and studied by combining theory with practice. A number of basic questions should be understood clearly, for example: Why class struggle remains in the historical period of socialism, and the laws governing this struggle; why revisionism emerges; why it is necessary for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and how this dictatorship is to be exercised; why it is necessary to adhere to the Party's basic line; why it is necessary to strengthen centralized Party leadership, and how it should be strengthened. As long as we keep on reading and studying with perseverance and link this with reality, we will surely arrive at a fairly clear understanding of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have taught many comrades that whether one studies revolutionary theory or not is a question of the line, a matter of principle determining whether one practices Marxism or revisionism, and whoever fails to grasp theory loses his bearings in practice. Thus they are even more determined to study Marxism. There can be no doubt that conscientious mass study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat will promote speedier advances in our country's socialist revolution and construction.

* * *

# The Historical Mission of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

## - Study "A Great Beginning"

by

Chou Szu (周 斯)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Feb. 1, 1975)

"A Great Beginning" is a brilliant work written by Lenin in 1919. In this work Lenin highly praised the "Communist Saturday Voluntary Labor [Communist Subbotniks]" at the time and profoundly discussed the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat in accordance with the basic Marxist theory of the state and the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the October Revolution. Today, in the excellent situation following the great victories scored in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the tremendous results achieved in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a conscientious study of this work by Lenin while linking it with the practice of our country's revolutionary struggle will help us deepen our understanding of the Party's basic line, adhere to the socialist road, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and win still greater victories.

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Marx said: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." ("Critique of the Gotha Program") Having overthrown the reactionary rule of the bourgeoisie and seized the political power of the state, the proletariat rose to be the ruling class. This was a flying leap in the history of development of human society and a step of decisive significance in the march toward communism. But this was only the beginning of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into communist society and, as the "Communist Manifesto" puts it, "the first step of the workers' revolution." In order to fulfill its historical mission, the proletariat must use its own political rule to build, consolidate and develop socialism. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat socialism cannot be built, and even if it is built, it cannot not be consolidated and developed. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only road leading to communism. In the entire historical period of socialism we must adhere to this dictatorship. "Like food and clothing, this power is something a victorious people cannot do without even for a moment." ("Why It Is Necessary to Discuss the White Paper")

What is the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the entire period of socialism marked by the transition of capitalism into communism? In this brilliant work "A Great Beginning,"

Lenin pointed out: "In order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must fulfill a twofold or dual task: First, it must, by its supreme heroism in the revolutionary struggle against capital, win over the entire mass of the toilers and exploited; it must win them over, organize them and lead them in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and utterly suppress its resistance. Secondly, it must lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited, as well as all the petty-bourgeois strata, onto the road of new economic construction, onto the road for the creation of new social ties, a new labor discipline, a new organization of labor, which will combine the last word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist production." Thus, it is clear that after leading the revolutionary masses to overthrow the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and seize political power, the proletariat must use the political power in its hands to resolutely suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, thoroughly transform the small producers and lead them to persist in taking the socialist road, wipe out the traces left by the old society, build a new socialist social system, and march towards the great goal of communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class struggle carried out by the proletariat using the power of the state as a tool. The primary task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin pointed out, is that of "overcoming resistance of the bourgeoisie, of vanquishing the exploiters, and of crushing their conspiracy," and "this was natural and inevitable." The seizure of state power by the proletariat puts an end to the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes. However, this does not mean the end of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; on the contrary, this struggle will become more extensive, acute and brutal. The overthrown exploiting classes, irreconciled to their own destruction, will always turn their hope for restoration into action for restoration and, with tenfold madness and hundredfold hatred, will desperately engage in a test of strength with the proletariat in a vain attempt to recapture their lost power and climb back to their ruling position. Besides coming forward themselves, they will pay special attention to finding agents inside the political party of the proletariat and, through these agents, change the Party's line, engage in revisionist and splittist activities, and intrigue and conspire in order to attain their criminal goal of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. At the same time, they will also pin their hope for restoration on subversion and aggression by external enemies, who in turn will invariably use the reactionary exploiting classes, overthrown by the revolutionary people, and their agents within the proletarian political party as instruments for subversion and aggression. Therefore, in the socialist period, there is the danger of capitalist restoration, and there is the possibility of subversion and aggression by external enemies. The proletariat must use the state apparatus in its hands "to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction," "to protect

our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") Only in this way can we consolidate the rule of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out: for the proletariat, in addition to the task of suppressing the resistance of exploiters, "another task comes to the forefront just as inevitably and ever more imperatively as time goes on, viz., the more important task of positive communist construction, the creation of new economic relations of a new society." The latter task is greater and more arduous than the first. After the success of the October Revolution in Russia, the masses of workers, who had gone through four trying years of imperialist war and another year and a half of still more trying civil war, initiated and organized the "Communist Subbotniks," thus taking the first concrete step toward the completion of this task. Lenin gave it a very high appraisal and lauded it as "the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more material, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie," "it shows that a completely new thing contrary to all the old capitalist practices is beginning to take place here, something of an even higher order than the socialist society that has defeated capitalism, that is, the extensive, organized labor without remuneration to meet the needs of the whole country," and "it is one of the cells of the new, socialist society which brings to all the people of the earth emancipation from the yoke of capital and from wars." To liberate the whole of mankind and finally liberate itself, the proletariat, which has become the ruling class, must lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited and all petty-bourgeois strata onto the socialist road and keep to it and to struggle energetically for the gradual realization of communism.

Communism is a system under which classes and exploitation are completely eliminated, the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual labor are destroyed, people are no longer forced to submit to the division of work as slaves, labor has changed from a means to make a living to life's first requirement, the vast majority of the people have a high level of communist consciousness and have become accustomed to observing the basic rules of public life and to fulfilling social duties without the need of special enforcement organizations, work for the public interest without pay has become the general rule, the productive forces are highly developed, and the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is implemented. Contradictions are the motive force for the development of things. In communist society, there will still be contradictions and struggles, but these will be different in nature from class struggle. The transition from capitalist society to communist society must go through the fairly long historical period of socialism, and socialist society is built on the ruins of capitalist society. Chairman Mao has said: "Before a brand new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean." ("Introductory Note to 'A Serious Lesson'") There can be no construction without destruction. We cannot realize communism without sweeping the old site completely clean and thoroughly eliminating the old system and the remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system.

Because our socialist society has just emerged from the old society, it is in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it has emerged. For example, in the economic field, we have in the main completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, but there still are parts which have not yet been completely transformed, and remnants of the system of private ownership still exist. Even in the economic system of socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by the working masses, although the bourgeois right of private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, "it does not yet abolish bourgeois right which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labor, equal amounts of products." ("The State and Revolution") This bourgeois right can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, it is still necessary to apply the principle of "to each according to his work" for it has a role to play in the historical period of socialism. But it is not a communist principle after all and will eventually vanish. As to the superstructure including all the cultural spheres, the ideological influence of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and the force of habit of the old society are still very strong, and they pound at the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat daily and hourly. The petty bourgeois strata in particular are like a vast ocean; after they have taken the socialist road, they still show spontaneous capitalist tendencies, which run counter to socialism. The socialist period is a period of struggle between dying capitalism and growing communism. This struggle finds expression not only in the resistance of the overthrown reactionary, exploiting classes against the proletariat and the revolutionary people, but also in the resistance of innumerable remnants of small production and the powerful force of habit and conservative forces allied with these remnants against the socialist road. Lenin called such resistance "the especially tenacious, difficult-to-overcome, passive resistance." To realize communism, the proletariat must gradually eliminate the vestiges of the old society, overcome the traditional concepts and bad habits left over by the old society, lead all the exploited working masses and all petty-bourgeois strata onto the socialist road to march forward continuously along this road.

To gradually eliminate the vestiges of the old society under the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary not only for the development of socialism but also for preventing regression and winning complete victory over the landlord and bourgeois classes; it is of great significance to combating and preventing revisionism and preventing capitalist restoration. This is because all the vestiges left by the old society are products of the old modes of production, and because they are the economic base and superstructure of capitalism or feudalism. These things, whether political, economic, ideological or cultural, are all hotbeds for the breeding of revisionism and foundations for capitalist restoration. The overthrown exploiting classes, unreconciled to their doom, often make use of these things to launch wild attacks against the proletariat. Otherwise, why are there people

accepting a revisionist line when it emerges? Why should conspirators like Lin Piao put forward a whole program for nakedly restoring capitalism in their counter-revolutionary plan for a coup d'etat, the "Outline of Project '571'"? Why are there certain markets for the overthrown exploiting classes to carry out their criminal activities to restore capitalism? Why is it possible for the class enemies to use some people in the revolutionary ranks and from among the masses of the people to do evil things? Why is it that the revolutionary unity and the sense of organization and discipline of the proletariat are sometimes disrupted and attacked? To thoroughly crush the resistance of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and prevent capitalist restoration, the proletariat must work hard and make painstaking efforts to sweep clean the vestiges of the old society, and overcome the spontaneous forces of capitalism and the force of old habits. This is a very arduous, long-term task, impossible to accomplish at one stroke. However, we must neither neglect this task nor relax struggle in this respect. Only by thoroughly eliminating the vestiges of the old society "will a reversion to capitalism become impossible, will communism become really invincible."

It was precisely in this sense that Lenin highly praised the spirit of communist labor and pointed out its broad prospect of development. He said: "'Communist things' began to come into being only with the emergence of Saturday voluntary labor. Such labor is labor performed by individuals for society on a huge scale, without pay, and without any quota set by the authorities, that is, the state. This is no neighborly help often seen in the rural areas, but labor organized on a large scale and without pay to meet the needs of the whole nation.... If we say that there is a certain communist element in the existing system in Russia, that is the Saturday voluntary labor, and all the rest are only struggles against capitalism and for consolidation of socialism." ("Concerning Communist Saturdays") In his article "Introducing a Cooperative," Chairman Mao with equally warm words praises the revolutionary spirit of the masses, pointing out: "The communist spirit is growing apace throughout the country. The political consciousness of the broad masses is rising rapidly. The backward sections among them are exerting themselves to catch up with the advanced, which demonstrates that the socialist revolution in our country is forging ahead in the economic field (in those places where the relations of production have not yet been completely transformed) and in the political, ideological, technical and cultural fields." How forcefully did Lenin and does Chairman Mao emphasize the new things among the masses that demonstrate the communist initiative and that completely break with the bourgeois ideas and habits under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

What attitude to take toward the vestiges of the old society, to gradually transform and eliminate them or to protect and extend them--this has always been an important aspect of the struggle between the two lines within the proletarian political party. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin warmheartedly supported "Communist Saturdays", pointing out that it was a great beginning toward overcoming habits accruing to workers and peasants inherited from evil capitalism and building a new socialist society. However, the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary Party members jeered at the Bolshevik Party for pinning its hope on

"Communist saturday voluntary labor," saying it was like "planting a big tree in a small flower pot," and tried their utmost from the right or the "Left" to undermine the Bolshevik Party's struggle to liquidate all vestiges of the old society. The struggle on this question in our Party has also been very acute. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great leader Chairman Mao has led the people of the whole country to advance along the orientation indicated by Marxism-Leninism, carry out socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, wage one revolution after another on the political and ideological fronts and, in the meantime, adopt many revolutionary measures for opposing and resisting capitalism and developing socialism, violently pounding at things left over by the old society and pushing the socialist cause forward. The ringleaders of revisionist lines within the Party, from Kao Kang to P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, have all tried their utmost to protect and promote the old things and vainly attempted to block the advance of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses along the socialist road. They tried their utmost to peddle such revisionist fallacies as "insuring private ownership," "the four freedoms," "San Tzu I Pao" and "material incentives"; vigorously preached the ideology of the decadent slaveowning class, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and the bourgeois world outlook; painstakingly tried to protect the forces and traditions of the old society and induce people to take the capitalist road. From this we can see that how to deal with the vestiges of the old society is an important question of whether to practice Marxism or revisionism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has been a great practice in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this revolution, we have destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, crushed their plots to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, effectively suppressed the resistance of the landlords and the bourgeoisie (including the newly engendered bourgeois elements), and penetratingly criticized capitalism and revisionism. At the same time, we have carried out a series of reforms in the superstructure including all the cultural spheres. A large number of socialist new things have emerged. All this has meant a great cleaning up of the remnants and vestiges of the old society. The current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is spreading throughout the country, is a continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Through the penetrating criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that preach restoration, regression and national betrayal, we assuredly will further wash away the filth left over by the old society. To make a radical break with the old traditions and concepts is not easy. Where the broom of the proletariat does not reach, this kind of trash certainly will not vanish of itself. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must carry out education on the Party's basic line in the light of the realities of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the various spheres and on the various fronts, wipe out the vestiges of the old society step by step, oppose the capitalist tendencies, and stick to the socialist road.

It is a great undertaking to wipe out the traces left by the old society and to build a brand new social system--a task which is much more difficult than that of suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes. "For this cannot possibly be fulfilled by single acts of heroic fervor; it requires the most prolonged, most persistent and most difficult mass heroism in prosaic, everyday work." This is to say that we must rely on the broad revolutionary masses, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals "to work in a revolutionary way" at their own posts. We must persistently criticize the old system and old ideas and, under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist line, carry forward the proletarian revolutionary spirit and do our work vigorously. We must warmheartedly support and actively promote the socialist new things and resolutely oppose and courageously resist the erroneous things that run counter to the needs of socialism. In our daily work, we must work hard and consciously observe proletarian discipline. In short, we must maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring,death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war to seize political power and in the struggle to suppress the resistance of the exploiting classes for the consolidation of our political power, and actively plunge ourselves into the practice of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism. Only by waging untiring struggle in this way can we win final victory for the communist cause.

Like other forms of state power, the state power of the proletariat is also a tool used by one class to oppress another. The only difference is that it is not used by the minority, the exploiters, to oppress the majority, the exploited,but the other way round. Therefore, the state power of the proletariat essentially differs from other forms of state power. In dealing with erroneous ideas among the people, the state power of the proletariat uses a democratic method--the method of persuasion and education. Chairman Mao says: "The people's state protects the people. Only when the people have such a state can they educate and remold themselves by democratic methods on a countrywide scale, with everyone taking part, and shake off the influence of domestic and foreign reactionaries (which is still very strong, will survive for a long time and cannot be quickly destroyed), rid themselves of the bad habits and ideas acquired in the old society, not allow themselves to be led astray by the reactionaries, and continue to advance--to advance toward a socialist and communist society." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") What Chairman Mao means by "on a countrywide scale, with everyone taking part" is that the work of educating and remolding oneself encompasses all classes and strata among the people and includes the work of shaking off the influence of the bourgeoisie and domestic and foreign reactionaries among the workers and peasants. The state power in the hands of the proletariat is used not only to suppress the resistance of the exploiting classes, but also as a tool to remove the traces of the old society, oppose the capitalist tendencies, and bring the non-proletarian working masses to the side of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "'Communist Saturdays' fully demonstrate the class nature of the organs of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This tells us that how to deal with the traces of the old society and the traditions, habits and evil styles of feudalism and capitalism is a major issue bearing on the class nature of state organs.

Functionaries of state organs must conscientiously read and study, strengthen their ties with the broad masses, strive to overcome their own non-proletariat thinking, consciously resist the attack by sugar-coated bullets and other evil tendencies, and do a still better job in performing their duties in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this work "A Great Beginning," Lenin also stressed the significance of "Communist Saturdays" in Party building. At that time, the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) was carrying out a party purge to get rid of those "Communists" who refused to go to the front to fight against Kolchak, Denikin and other landlord and capitalist troops. Although the number of Party members was somewhat reduced as a result, the role and strength of the Party were greatly enhanced. After the emergence of this new thing--"Communist Saturdays", Lenin immediately proposed taking advantage of this new beginning to continue the purging. "A similar test should be demanded of all members of the Party who joined after October 25, 1917, and who have not proved by some special work or service that they are absolutely reliable, loyal and capable of being Communists." "Members should be accepted into the Party only after six months', say 'trial,' or 'probation,' at 'working in a revolutionary way.'" From this it can be seen that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, Lenin regarded the valiant defense of the proletarian political power and active dedication to revolutionary practice in a revolutionary way as an important condition for Party membership. The historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to suppress the resistance of the exploiting classes, to clear the site of the old system, and to build a brand new society. How can one become a communist if one does not work positively and keenly for such a cause? Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and following the Party's basic line, our state is waging a great struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and push the socialist cause forward. Every Party member and cadre should pause to think and see if his own thinking or action is in keeping with the development of the situation of revolutionary struggle and with the demands of the Party, and whether or not he deserves the glorious title of vanguard fighter of the proletariat. Every communist and revolutionary must closely unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, conscientiously study the great theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to the Party's basic line, and strive to fulfill the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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# Persist in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat over the Bourgeoisie

by

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The proletariat must establish its dictatorship after overthrowing the political power of the bourgeoisie. This is a scientific generalization and summation by Marx of historical experience in class struggle, a great contribution to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical--economic and political--lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government") Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in our country, Chairman Mao pointed out on the eve of the socialist revolution: "To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based on the worker-peasant alliance." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") Only through the dictatorship of the proletariat will it be possible to thoroughly triumph over capitalism, abolish all classes, and eventually realize communism.

Chairman Mao has led the Chinese people in waging decades of arduous revolutionary struggles aimed at winning the victory of the new democratic revolution and establishing a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The founding of the Chinese People's Republic marked the beginning of a new historical stage of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese people, who have mastered their own destiny, have carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, established the people's communes, and conducted revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Through a series of sharp and complex struggles, we defeated the frenzied attacks by the class enemies at home and abroad and smashed the counter-revolutionary restorationist schemes of the chieftains of the revisionist line within the Party, thus winning great victories in socialist revolution and construction and particularly in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and strengthened and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. High in spirit and firm in determination, the cadres and masses, having been tempered in struggle, are advancing triumphantly along the road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country over the past 20 years and more has fully testified to this scientific thesis Lenin had repeatedly put forward: "The dictatorship of

the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms." (Foreword to the Published Speech "Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality") This period of historical experience has also confirmed the correctness of Chairman Mao's instruction: "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") This is because the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes are still around, will not give up, and will try by hook or by crook to stage a comeback; because in society there still exist spontaneous capitalist tendencies, bourgeois influence, and the force of old habit, and because there are still some unreformed people who would depart from the socialist road and take the capitalist road at the first opportunity. Since bourgeois rights still inevitably exist in distribution and exchange by means of money, there are differences between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual laborers, and if such differences are not correctly handled, restricted and adjusted, they will also encourage the development of capitalist forces and new bourgeois elements. When class struggle in society finds expression within our Party, there are bound to be some people practicing revisionism, trying to turn the wheel of history backward, and becoming capitalist-roaders in authority. Internationally, since imperialism and social-imperialism exist, our country under the dictatorship of the proletariat still faces the threat of aggression and subversion. For these domestic and international reasons, we must always strengthen our state machine and persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Such dictatorship is necessary for the entire historical period of transition from socialism to communism. Only through the dictatorship of the proletariat can we persistently follow the socialist road, eliminate the bourgeoisie and the political, economic and ideological causes of its emergence and eventually abolish classes. As long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, as long as there are reactionaries and classes at home, the state machine of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be abolished. This is the basic Marxist theory we have followed in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, and it is also our basic practice in this regard over the past 20 years and more.

On the question of whether it is necessary to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the socialist period, there is disagreement in principle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Liu Shao-ch'i republished his sinister book "On Self-Cultivation" and preached the "theory of the dying out of class struggle;" Lin Piao publicized the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and attacked our Party and State for "enforcing the laws of Ch'in Shih Huang." This shows their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, they were not against dictatorship. They wanted to impose the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat and opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Such is the essence of the matter.

Chairman Mao pointed out on one occasion: "Our state system of the people's democratic dictatorship is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of the victory of the people's revolution and for opposing the plots of the foreign and domestic enemies to stage a comeback, and we must firmly grasp this weapon." ("Opening Speech at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference") This important idea of Chairman Mao's is fully reflected in the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the First Session of the 4th National People's Congress, a constitution that sets the target and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In face of the acute and complicated class struggle at home and abroad, the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are extremely arduous.

To protect the socialist system, we must suppress the reactionary classes, the reactionaries and those who resist socialist transformation and socialist construction within the country, "allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed." We must suppress all traitorous and counter-revolutionary activities and punish all traitors and counter-revolutionary elements.

To maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the masses of the people, it is likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order.

To consolidate the socialist ownership by the whole people and the socialist collective ownership by the working masses, we must wage struggles against all capitalist forces and newly emerging bourgeois elements and transform the small producers and the non-agricultural individual laborers. In the course of transforming the objective world, the working class must also transform itself.

To win a thorough victory in socialist revolution, "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture," criticize the bourgeoisie, revisionism and the ideologies of all decadent and moribund classes, and must not allow them to spread unchecked.

To consolidate and develop the socialist economy, we must gradually reduce, and not extend, the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual labor to the extent possible. We must implement the policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war," and with revolution in command, work hard to increase production and improve step by step the material and cultural life of the people.

To solve the contradictions between ourselves and the enemies abroad, we must strengthen army-building, step up preparedness against war, be prepared at all times to smash the subversive activities and possible aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism and safeguard the fruits of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

If we firmly grasp the weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will be able to wage powerful political, economic and ideological struggles against the class enemies at home and abroad and guarantee that the proletariat will triumph over the bourgeoisie and capitalism in the struggle between the two classes and the two roads. This weapon to the victorious people is a talisman and an heirloom, "something that, like food and clothing, cannot be dispensed with even for a moment." The class enemies at home and abroad,who mortally fear and bitterly hate our dictatorship of the proletariat, will always try their utmost to attack and undermine it. They not only intend to use counter-revolutionary armed force directly to deal with the proletarian political power, but also pin their hope on the peaceful disintegration by revisionism of the proletarian regime from within. Because of this, the question of whether to consolidate or subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat is manifested in a concentrated manner in the fierce struggle between the two lines within the Party.

Revisionism is most dangerous to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Class enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. They take a lot of trouble to look for agents within our Party in their attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in our country. They feel that it is much more convenient to have the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves under circumstances where the latter are already quite odious in society. This is the class source from which revisionism grows within the Party. Ringleaders of revisionist lines like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were bourgeois careerists and conspirators who had hidden themselves in the Party for a long time. When they sensed that the time was not yet ripe, they would not expose their true nature completely nor tear off their Marxist cloak. When the climate and soil were suitable, they would jump out to attack the Party and socialism and vainly attempt to usurp Party leadership and state power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a fascist dictatorship. Within our Party and the revolutionary ranks, there are still such cases where some people--as they do not seriously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, do not grasp the major issues of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, do not try to use Marxism to remold their own world outlook, and are divorced from productive labor and from the masses--cannot withstand the attack and corruption by bourgeois ideas and may also slip into the quagmire of revisionism. Therefore, Chairman Mao has repeatedly warned us: "We must guard against the emergence of revisionism," and "must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchev and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the State at any level." Today, although Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have fallen, yet the class foundation for the growth of revisionism still remains, and neither the struggle between those attempting to subvert and those trying to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat nor the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism has ended.

The basic line set by Chairman Mao for our Party for the historical period of socialism is the only correct Marxist-Leninist line for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we adhere to this line, conscientiously sum up the experiences of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism and of class struggle as a whole and take correct measures to wage a protracted and unremitting struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, we shall certainly be able to prevent capitalist restoration and further strengthen and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

To uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to correctly distinguish between and handle the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves and integrate well the two aspects of our work, namely, democracy among the people and dictatorship over the enemies. We must exercise dictatorship over the reactionary classes and the reactionaries. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique attacked our exercising dictatorship over the class enemies as "cruel" and "not benevolent," clamoring for "political liberation to be given without exception to all" the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. This showed in a negative way that our dictatorship of the proletariat was correct and good and therefore was extremely feared and hated by them. Political liberation has a profound class content, which is concrete, not abstract. If the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists were "liberated," there would be no liberation for the working people. To liberate the working people who have suffered hardship and suppression for thousands of years, we must exercise dictatorship over all the reactionary classes and reactionaries. Chairman Mao has long ago criticized the reactionary viewpoint of applying a policy of benevolence to class enemies, pointing out: "The state apparatus, including the army, the police and the courts, is the instrument by which one class oppresses another. It is an instrument for the oppression of antagonistic classes; it is violence and not 'benevolence'." "We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and toward the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") Of course, the proletariat should deal with them individually according to different conditions, applying a policy of "giving a way out." "So long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create trouble, land and work will be given to them as well in order to allow them to live and remold themselves through labor into new people. If they are not willing to work, the people's state will compel them to work." (Ibid) However, this does not constitute the slightest change in the nature of exercising dictatorship over them. Our relationship with the revisionist chieftains "shall never be one of equality but one in which one class oppresses another or one in which the proletariat practices dictatorship over the bourgeoisie." We must completely expose the counter-revolutionary restoration plot of such revisionist chieftains as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and thoroughly criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by them.

Generally speaking, an identity of basic interests underlies the contradictions among the people. The only way to handle these contradictions is by the democratic method--the method of discussion, of persuasion and education--and not by the method of coercion or repression. If we handle them in an over-simplified way or if we lose our vigilance and lower our guard, these contradictions may sharpen and antagonism may even arise. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "There is no conflict of fundamental interests within the ranks of the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two irreconcilable groupings." As for the contradictions within the ranks of the working class, we must persist in proceeding from a desire for unity and from the general situation of revolution, and it is only through criticism and self-criticism that we can attain the twofold purpose of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. Persuasion and education are also the only method which we can use in handling the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry." (Ibid) The setting up of people's communes has provided favorable conditions for thoroughly remolding the peasantry. The peasants have raised their socialist awareness to an unprecedented level especially through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. For the economy of collective ownership in the rural people's communes at the present stage, it is necessary to persist in practicing the three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the last as the basic accounting unit. However, before the collective ownership system has advanced to the level of socialist ownership by the whole people and prior to the extinguishing of the remnants of the private ownership economy, the peasants inevitably retain certain characteristics of the former small producers, and a part of the well-to-do peasants inevitably preserve spontaneous capitalist tendencies, and therefore, certain contradictions are bound to arise between them and the proletariat and the socialist road. These contradictions can be solved only through political work including patient and vivid propaganda and education, constant education in socialist ideology, and criticism of capitalist tendencies. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, we have followed Chairman Mao's principles for the correct handling of contradictions among the people in correctly handling the relations among the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals, and between these classes and strata and the relations between the leadership and the masses. We have brought all positive factors into play, united over 95 percent of cadres and the masses, consolidated the worker-peasant alliance, and isolated a handful of class enemies to the maximum, thus constantly promoting the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of the socialist cause.

To persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, it is essential to rely on and arouse the masses. The "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" stipulates: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people." The masses of

people are the masters of our country. Only by relying on the masses, freely mobilizing them and letting them directly participate in the management of the country's political, economic and cultural life under the leadership of the Party, can we exercise effective dictatorship over reactionary and bad elements and effectively transform them, better supervise and improve the work of our state-organs, overcome bureaucracy, prevent revisionism, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao are great mass movements formed through mobilizing millions upon millions of revolutionary masses. To rely on the masses and freely mobilize them--such is the most extensive democracy among the people practiced by the proletariat. Without this extensive people's democracy, consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible. The democracy as we understand it is democracy under highly centralized guidance, not democracy that departs from centralism. In other words, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and people of the whole country must take Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as the basis for achieving unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action. Only such centralism can reflect the fundamental interests and desires of the masses of people; only by exercising democratic rights under the guidance of such centralism is it possible to help strengthen the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and promote socialist revolution and construction. The unity of such democracy and centralism is the principle of our democratic centralism. We must correctly implement this principle and can never, at any time or for any reason, allow democracy to be set against centralism or confuse proletarian democracy with bourgeois democracy. Vigilance should be maintained against the class enemy's attempt to undermine the Party's centralized leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat with slogans of democracy.

Our dictatorship of the proletariat is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The working class exercises leadership over the dictatorship of the proletariat through its vanguard--the Chinese Communist Party. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants and unite all other laboring masses, the vast numbers of intellectuals and all forces that can be united to struggle for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in order to insure that our country will never change its color.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been incessantly consolidated and strengthened in the midst of the acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines. At every important moment of the socialist revolution, the chieftains of the revisionist line within our Party invariably allied themselves with a handful of reactionaries in the country and colluded with imperialism and social-imperialism in launching one frenzied attack after another against our socialist system characterized by the dictatorship of the proletariat in an attempt to destroy us. But all their plots were quickly smashed by the whole Party and people of the whole country under Chairman Mao's leadership. The movement to criticize

Lin Piao and Confucius, which is currently developing in a widespread, thorough and sustained manner, is a political and ideological struggle through which Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and is a vital aspect of our persistent dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. In this movement, we must strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, particularly the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, conscientiously sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools over several thousand years and of class struggle as a whole, make full use of such negative teachers as Lin Piao and Confucius in criticizing revisionism and all kinds of ideology belonging to the decadent and declining classes, use Marxism to dominate all the spheres of the superstructure including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law, and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is a long-term strategic task, and the question as to which class will win out can be solved only in a very long historical period. However, irrespective of how many struggles we may have to come through in the future, the general trend of historical development through which the proletariat will prevail over the bourgeoisie, Marxism over revisionism, and socialism over capitalism cannot be changed by anybody. In the excellent situation prevailing both at home and abroad, we must further implement the Party's basic line, unite more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every grassroots unit.

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# Practice Democratic Centralism Effectively

by

Hsiang Hui (何 晖)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Feb. 1, 1975)

Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of our Party and also the organizational principle of our state. The Constitution of our Party adopted at the 10th CCP National Congress and the new Constitution adopted at the First Session of the 4th National People's Congress explicitly stipulate that democratic centralism is the organizational principle of the Party and State organs.

In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always attached importance to democratic centralism in building up the Party and state power. He has profoundly elucidated the question of democratic centralism in his brilliant works "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and other important talks. He clearly points out: "Within the ranks of the people we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradiction Among the People") It is necessary to practice democratic centralism within the ranks of the people and to exercise dictatorship over the handful of class enemies--these are the two inseparable aspects of our state system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With a view to consolidating this dictatorship, Chairman Mao stresses: "Without democratic centralism, it is impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is a scientific generalization and synthesis made by Chairman Mao of the historical experience in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines during the period of socialist revolution in our country.

Over the past 20 years and more, our Party and state have put democratic centralism into practice and relied on the masses of the people in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, overcoming subversion and sabotage by all class enemies at home and abroad and achieving great victories in socialist revolution and construction, particularly the great victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Practice shows that by practicing democratic centralism effectively, we are able, under the leadership of the Party, to unite and organize the people of all nationalities throughout the country to advance along the socialist road, and that by practicing democratic centralism effectively and allowing the masses of people to directly participate in the administration of major state affairs, we will be able to arouse their socialist enthusiasm to the fullest extent and interest them in the major issue of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the masses. The leading organs must integrate with the masses, form close ties with them and educate them on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies.

It is only when we rely on the masses that we can effectively supervise and reform the handful of class enemies, allow them to behave themselves and not to speak or act in an unruly way. If the class enemies continue to carry out sabotage and make trouble, the masses will promptly expose them and supress them firmly so they will not succeed in their counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

Chairman Mao points out: "The most fundamental thing in reforming the state organ is to establish close links with the masses." This is because our power is given by the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the broad masses of the working people who constitute over 90 percent of our population, and because the strength of the dictatorship of the proletarians springs from the masses of the people. In order to gain the approval and support of the masses of the people, our state organs must maintain direct ties with them and serve them wholeheartedly. By effectively carrying out democratic centralism, we can do better in firmly following the mass line "come from the masses and go back to the masses." This will enable us to discuss matters of common concern with the masses, concentrate their correct suggestions and requirements, and accept their revolutionary supervision, so that state functionaries will maintain the broadest, the closest and the most constant ties with the masses of the people. It will help overcome bureaucracy, prevent revisionism, and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Due to the fact that democratic centralism plays a major role in guaranteeing the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat organizationally, all chieftains of the opportunist line have invariably regarded it as an obstacle to their promotion of a revisionist line ever since the founding of the People's Republic. To usurp the leadership of the Party and the State and change the Party's basic line, all such chieftains--from the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance to P'eng Te-huai's military club, from Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters to the Lin Piao anti-Party clique--invariably attempted to undermine the Party's democratic centralism. On the one hand, the traitor and renegade Lin Piao called on others to blindly accept his counter-revolutionary coup d'etat plot and revisionist line, saying that only he and his son could "command all" and "mobilize all" and that "all" his reactionary proposals must be "carried out" in a "sweeping manner." Pursuing the policy "those who are with me prosper; those who are against me perish," he strangled the socialist enthusiasm of the vast masses of Party members and people and opposed the democratic centralism of the proletariat. On the other hand, he opposed the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, opposed using Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies to raise the masses' ideological consciousness and sense of organization, disseminated such fallacies as the mass movement is "natural and rational" to negate centralism and to split up the Party and the revolutionary ranks, and practiced ultra-democracy in opposition to proletarian centralism. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique sometimes also stressed the need for democracy and centralism. But their democracy and centralism were those demanded by the landlord and comprador bourgeoisie and had a clear-cut counter-

revolutionary, anti-proletarian class content. Their democracy was aimed at "politically liberating" the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists and allowing the bourgeoisie and revisionism to rise to power. Their centralism was meant to help them found their own independent kingdom and establish a fascist dictatorship of the landlord and comprador bourgeois classes. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "as a matter of fact, freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete," continue to scathingly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and wipe out its remaining influence, heighten our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and persevere in practicing democratic centralism consciously and resolutely for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To practice democratic centralism effectively it is necessary to correctly understand and handle well the relations between democracy and centralism and between freedom and discipline. Chairman Mao points out: "Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Without extensive democracy as the foundation it is impossible to establish correct centralism; without the guidance of a high degree of centralism, democracy will lose the correct bearing. This is also true with freedom, that is, it must be freedom under leadership. To onesidedly emphasize democracy and freedom and negate centralism and discipline will surely lead to ultra-democracy and unrestrained liberalism, thereby weakening as well as undermining the fighting capacity of the revolutionary ranks. Meanwhile, to onesidedly emphasize centralism and discipline and negate democracy and freedom will result in bureaucracy and the wrong practice of taking coercive measures, thereby diminishing the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm. Only by integrating democracy and freedom with centralism and discipline dialectically can organizations and individuals, the upper and lower levels, and the leadership and the masses be molded into one concrete body to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and can they unite in struggle to better fulfill the historical task of having socialism defeat capitalism and the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie.

Marxism reminds us that both democracy and freedom belong to the superstructure and serve a given economic base. "Democracy, though seemingly the goal, actually represents the means." (Ibid) On this point, we must draw a clear line of distinction with the various fallacies of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists in deceiving and corrupting the working people by taking democracy as the end. If the proletariat and the working people do not understand this, they cannot correctly understand and handle the relations between democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline. Democracy is a historical category; in history there is the bourgeois democracy which replaced the feudal system as well as the proletarian democracy which replaces the bourgeois democracy. Proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy are diametrically

opposed to each other. In comparing the two, Lenin said: bourgeois democracy is "democracy enjoyed by the few, by the rich," "the poor are excluded from and elbowed out of political life, so they cannot actively participate in democratic life." Proletarian democracy, he said, is "democracy enjoyed by the many, while those elements exploiting and oppressing the people are forcibly suppressed and excluded from democracy." ("The State and Revolution") This shows clearly that if there is bourgeois democracy, there will be no democracy for the proletariat and the laboring people. The right of the proletariat and the laboring people to democracy and freedom is based on depriving the landlords and the bourgeoisie of democracy and freedom. "Besides extending democracy on a massive scale and making democracy something for the first time to be enjoyed by the poor, by the people and not by the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat must also take a series of measures to deprive the oppressors, exploiters and capitalists of freedom." ("The State and Revolution") In class society democracy is always correlative with dictatorship and there can be no "complete" or "pure" democracy. In the historical period of socialist society, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. The proletariat can fulfill the great historical task of completely vanquishing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realizing communism only by relying on its dictatorship and on the theory and practice of continued revolution under its dictatorship, not by practicing democracy and freedom in the abstract. Lenin pointed out: "General talk about freedom, equality and democracy is in fact but a stereotyped repetition of concepts which are only a cast from the relations of commodity production. To attempt to solve the concrete problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of such general talk is to accept the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie all along the line." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat")

In order to recapture their lost "paradise," the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes often make use of slogans of democracy and freedom in launching wild attacks on the proletariat. In 1957 the bourgeois Rightists attacked our socialist system for too little democracy and freedom, clamoring for the need to "run the government by rotation." This clearly exposed their counter-revolutionary motives--to ask the Communist Party to step down and the proletariat and the laboring people to hand over the seal of power, and make the landlord and bourgeois classes they represent come to power again. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao smeared our proletarian dictatorship as being "feudal autocracy" and opposed our practice of centralism on the basis of democracy and our development of democracy under centralized guidance; in essence, he vainly attempted to replace our proletarian dictatorship with his feudal, fascist dictatorship. We can never apply democracy in dealing with such a handful of anti-communist and anti-people counter-revolutionary elements but must exercise dictatorship over them. Otherwise, the revolution will fail, the people will be ruined, and the state will perish. After summing up their own experience gained at the cost of their blood, the Chinese people have deeply realized that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an indispensable magic weapon and that there can be extensive democracy and genuine freedom for the people only by

strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To make democracy develop along the socialist orientation, we must have correct centralism as a guide. Chairman Mao points out: "The Communist Party must practice not only democracy but especially centralism." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") Without full democracy it is impossible to have a high degree of centralism, and without a high degree of centralism it is impossible to build socialism. In the course of socialist revolution and construction, for the broad masses to show concern for the important affairs of the state and to express various kinds of opinions and ideas is a full manifestation of their socialist enthusiasm brought into full play. But such opinions and ideas are often scattered and unsystematic; some are correct while others are wrong. They must be concentrated on the basis of adequate discussion, compared, evaluated, and turned into unified opinions to be implemented in practice persistently. If there is not a high degree of centralism and if everyone goes his own way, it will be impossible to concentrate the strength of the masses to strive for a single goal, to win greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

To practice centralism, first of all we must pool correct opinions. This demands active support for criticism and suggestions that meet the interests of socialism, enthusiastic fostering of socialist new things, and repudiation of wrong ideas and tendencies running counter to Marxism-Leninism. As Chairman Mao has taught us, "The Party must lead the masses to carry out the correct ideas of the masses according to the circumstances concerned and must educate the masses to correct the wrong ideas existing among them." ("Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area") The progress of society and the development of the proletarian cause are possible only by fully promoting the advanced and correct things and overcoming the backward and erroneous things. In supporting correct things and opposing erroneous ones, we are by no means suppressing the masses but represent their fundamental interests and conform to their desires. Failure to support what we should support and to oppose what we should oppose will result in failure to promote socialist righteousness and suppress capitalist evil winds. This constitutes real suppression of the masses' socialist enthusiasm, in which case democracy will become nothing but an empty word. Of course, in practicing centralism, we should not make decisions solely according to what the leadership says nor let the masses do anything they want to. We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the criterion and achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Freedom and discipline represent a unity of opposites. Under the socialist system, the people enjoy most extensive freedom but at the same time they must restrain themselves with proletarian discipline. Our revolutionary ranks are an organized fighting collective. Without unified revolutionary discipline and without appropriate and compulsory administrative orders, revolutionary order cannot be maintained, the masses of people cannot effectively carry out production and study and lead an orderly life, and the proletariat cannot fully bring its own fighting role into play correctly and effectively. This goes well with the method of

pursuasion and education in resolving the contradictions among the people. "Administrative orders issued for the purpose of maintaining public order must also be accompanied by persuasion and education." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Freedom is necessary for understanding what is inevitable and for transforming the objective world, and revolutionary discipline is a set of rules to be observed by all as formulated by the proletariat in accordance with objective laws in the process of understanding and transforming the objective world. We must unite all revolutionary forces together before we can generate a huge strength in the fight against nature and against class enemies and win the victory in the struggle.

As early as in the early stages of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao had formulated the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention" for the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, Chairman Mao again instructed us to "educate fighters, cadres, masses, Party members and the people in the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention." The most important rule in the "three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention" is to "obey orders in all your actions." This means that we must unite the people of the whole country to win victories with unified will and action under the unified leadership and command of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. To march in concert, all communists must strictly abide by the unified discipline that "the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower to the higher level, and the whole Party to its Central Committee." "Whoever violates these rules of discipline disrupts Party unity." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") Every Communist Party member and revolutionary cadre must consciously place himself within the organization of the Party, not outside of it or, even worse, above it. He must conscientiously implement the instructions issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and should not adopt such erroneous attitudes as "each takes what he wants and puts it to his exclusive use." Communists must abide by the truth at all times and in all places, possess the revolutionary spirit of going against erroneous tides, and wage resolute struggle against revisionism and all errors. This is consistent with observance of Party discipline. For the purpose of strictly observing Party discipline is precisely to uphold its solidarity and unity, and to thwart the attempts of the revisionist chieftains to create division and to intrigue and conspire. We must maintain and display the glorious tradition of observing discipline and raise our consciousness of the need to enforce discipline.

The effective practice of democratic centralism is a guarantee for strengthening the centralized leadership of the Party organizationally, and whether or not democratic centralism can be conscientiously practiced rests on strengthening the Party's centralized leadership. "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people." The Chinese Communist Party is a proletarian political party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the highest organizational form of the proletariat. It represents the basic interests of the vast masses of the laboring people and maintains the closest ties with the people.

Democracy and centralism, and freedom and discipline can be correctly combined and persistently implemented only under the Party's centralized leadership. The centralized leadership of the Party is, most fundamentally, leadership in the correct ideological and political line. Organizationally, according to the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary first of all to insure the Party's leadership over state organs and mass organizations and then to insist that the lower submits to the higher level and the whole Party to its Central Committee. We must conscientiously sum up experience and lessons in this respect, heighten our Party spirit, maintain vigilance against and prevent class enemies from sowing dissension between the Party and the masses and sabotaging the Party's centralized leadership.

Effectively carrying out the principle of democratic centralism is an embodiment of the proletarian party spirit. Only by conscientiously remolding our world outlook, enhancing our proletarian Party spirit and following the correct ideological and political line can we implement this principle in a still better way. Historical experience tells us that the struggle between the two lines revolving around the question of whether we should maintain or oppose democratic centralism is, in the final analysis, a struggle between the two kinds of world outlook. Looked at from the dialectical-materialist world outlook, freedom and discipline, democracy and centralism are a unity of opposites, contradictory to as well as united with each other. We should look at this question in a dialectical and comprehensive way, adhere to democratic centralism, and oppose one-sidedness. On the other hand, if we should look at the question from the idealist and metaphysical world outlook, we would one-sidedly stress a certain facet of freedom and discipline, democracy and centralism to the negation of another. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which continues to develop in a widespread, thorough and sustained way, we must persist in reading and studying seriously and having a good grasp of Marxism, take an active part in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, strive to remold our world outlook, and enhance our proletarian Party spirit. This will enable us to consciously practice democratic centralism and "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness," and help us consolidate the unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, keep to the Party's basic line, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

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# Work Entirely in the Interests of the People

## - Study "Serve the People"

by

the CCP Committee of P'ingku Hsien

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Feb. 1, 1975)

Thirty years ago, in his brilliant article "Serve the People," our great leader Chairman Mao highly praised Comrade Chang Szu-te's communist spirit and gave a profound explanation of the sole aim of our Party to serve the people wholeheartedly. Since the great proletariat cultural revolution, the leading members of our hsien committee have studied this brilliant work by Chairman Mao over and over again, combining what they learned with practice, and through the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, came to understand more deeply than ever the importance of seriously remolding their world outlook and constantly raising their consciousness to serve the people wholeheartedly. This has enabled them to better understand and carry out Chairman Mao's proletariat revolutionary line and improve their work.

Chairman Mao points out that our Communist Party and the revolutionary ranks led by it are "wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests." This instruction shows us the basic characteristic that distinguishes the proletarian political party from other parties. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The proletariat not only wants to liberate itself, it also wants to liberate the whole of mankind. If it does not succeed in liberating the whole of mankind, the proletariat cannot liberate itself in the end. "To work wholly in the interests of the people" is the overall objective of the Party's work. We can represent the people, unite and guide them to advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line only when we proceed from their interests in doing everything. The very fact that Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao--the two revisionist-line chieftains--tried to change our Party's line and policies in an attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism and turn back the wheel of history clearly shows that they represented nothing but the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes, and that their actions were completely opposed to the interests of the masses of the people. This is precisely why they were opposed and spurned by the people.

In order to work entirely in the interests of the people, the most essential thing of all is to uphold Marxism, not revisionism. Revisionism serves the bourgeoisie and the reactionaries at home and abroad. If a communist serves not the great majority of the people but a minority--landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, if he serves only himself or a small clique, he will then fall into the pit of revisionism. Whenever there is the slightest deviation in our work from Chairman Mao's proletariat revolutionary line, we must accept the

supervision and criticism of the masses, and immediately correct our mistakes. Chairman Mao teaches us: "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it." The question of whether or not one is able to put oneself under the supervision of the people and listen to their criticisms and suggestions with an open mind is an important mark of whether or not a revolutionary can work entirely in the interests of the people.

There was one incident that greatly enlightened us. The Hsuchiawu brigade of Lochengwu Commune is our hsien's advanced unit in learning from Tachai. In 1969, the hsien Party committee sent some people to this brigade to sum up its experience in large-scale capital construction in their fields and in carrying out the scientific "three-close one-sparse" planting method. The purpose was to use this as a means of propelling the hsien-wide movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. But at first, as they failed to grasp the essence of the matter, they could not spread their experiences, and the movement to learn from Tachai developed at a very low pace across the hsien. The masses sharply criticized us. They said: "There is a discrepancy between the point and the area, and the root of the trouble lies in your line." The masses had hit the nail right on the head. Though Hsuchiawu brigade's achievements in capital construction and scientific farming were really great, its basic experience was actually its perseverance in class and line struggles. Acting on the opinions of the masses, we summed up afresh its experience. This time we grasped the essence, and after popularizing the experience, we succeeded in opening up a new phase in learning from Tachai. Facts have vividly taught us to recognize the need to sincerely accept the criticism and supervision of the masses and to learn from them with an open mind before we can correct our shortcomings and mistakes in time, set the line right, and serve the people in a better way.

It was only after we had learned to recognize this that we began to pay constant attention to the problems that arose among the leading members of the committee when criticized by the masses. Some comrades, for example, could not take the criticism made by the masses, and bore a grudge against them. To solve this problem, we organized a study class of the committee attended by representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants. The representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants sharply pointed out: "If you have shortcomings or mistakes, what's so wrong about being criticized? This is the way to get rid of revisionism and gain Marxism. The reason why some of our comrades bear one kind of grudge or another is because they lack the spirit of working entirely in the interests of the people." Their criticisms carried weight and moved everyone. As Chairman Mao points out, since countless revolutionary martyrs laid down their lives in the interests of the people, are there any shortcomings and errors that we would not discard? When we think of this, we will have the right attitude toward the criticism and help offered by the masses.

Chairman Mao says: "If, in the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive." To correct what is wrong and persist in what is right in the interests of the people--these are two indispensible aspects. Just as it would be against the interests of the people if we do not correct what is wrong, it would also be against their interests if we do not persist in doing what is right. In 1972, a serious drought reduced our output. In face of the disaster, we put forward to the people of the whole hsien the call: "Rely on our own efforts to conquer the disaster; unite in struggle and continue to go all out." However, some people proposed concentrating on sideline productions at the expense of agriculture in order to make money needed for relief work. The class enemies also took advantage of this to make trouble. In these circumstances we unfolded revolutionary mass criticism and carried out education on the Party's basic line across the hsien. We also organized a mass discussion on "what should be done after the calamity". Study and criticism helped the cadres to distinguish right from wrong and make their direction clear. They all expressed their determination not to depart from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line under any difficult circumstances. The large capital works built on the farm in the winter of that year laid the foundation for achieving a per-mow grain output in 1973 equal to that south of the Yangtse. From this, we learned that in order to work entirely in the interests of the people, we must persist in educating and raising the political awareness of the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In matters of principle we must dare to persist and struggle; only thus will we gain the support of the broad masses of the people.

"Man must have some spirit." In order to serve the people wholeheartedly, we must have the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. Chairman Mao says: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death." To fear neither hardship nor death and to serve the revolution and the people wholeheartedly--this is a thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, the kind of spirit Chairman Mao has always advocated, is a glorious tradition of our Party, and is also an important sign of working entirely in the interests of the people. During the past war years, this spirit was needed, and today, in our socialist revolution and socialist construction, we must maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary fervor and the same death-defying spirit as displayed during the past revolutionary war, and carry the revolutionary work through to the end. With this spirit, we will be able to maintain a strong revolutionary will and a vigorous revolutionary drive. With this spirit, we will have the courage to fight heaven and earth, and to struggle against the class enemy and erroneous thoughts. With this spirit we will have the courage and strength to carry on the unremitting and arduous struggles to win more victories in revolution and production.

From practice we have come to understand that the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death is very important to the leading members of the hsien Party committee, for it is the key to successfully

carrying out Chairman Mao's proletariat revolutionary line and developing the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Once, some of our comrades who were influenced by the erroneous thoughts of fearing hardships, arduous work and difficulties, just didn't want to go down to the grassroots. Instead, they wanted to remain on the top and those who were already sent down just couldn't stay there longer. Some comrades were even influenced by such negative ideas as: "I'm no longer young and my pay isn't bad, but my health isn't so good either--so why work so seriously at all?" Particularly when dealing with backward teams, they were afraid of "poking the bee-hive" for fear of trouble. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify workstyle and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we seriously studied this brilliant work "Serve the People" and criticized the coward and lazy man's world outlook of "making revolution without sacrifice and starting an enterprise without hardship." This way, we raised our consciousness of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and serving the people. Fostering the revolutionary spirit of hard work and struggle, the leading members of the committee went to the frontline and took part in collective production labor, working together with the grassroots level cadres and the poor and lower-middle peasants. They solved one problem after another. Thus, the standing committee of the hsien Party committee solved successively the problems of eighteen "most difficult" units, and, "never leaving a village until good results are achieved," helped some backward units join the advanced ranks. Facts have shown that without the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and work, the leading cadres cannot possibly continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Marxist truth comes from struggle, and the achievements of socialism come from hard work. How can we hope to lead the revolutionary people to practice Marxism and build socialism if we ourselves do not have the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death? If we want to make revolution, we must rid ourselves of bourgeois ideas and styles of work. If we dream of a peaceful and luxurious life, we cannot possibly go all out for socialism, and the slogan "serve the people" would be merely an empty word. Today, in our committee, except for one or two who must attend to daily routines, the rest of the five secretaries and seven standing committee members constantly go to the grassroots level and among the masses, each spending two-thirds of his time in the fields annually. They persist in merging with the poor and lower-middle peasants by eating, working, studying and criticizing together with them. This is how we have strengthened our ties with the masses, tempered our revolutionary will, and reinforced our consciousness of serving the people.

As a first-level leading Party organ, the hsien Party committee must not only guide all revolutionary work well, it must also concern itself with the life of the masses; it must not only consider the long-term interests of the masses, it must also take into consideration their immediate interests. Chairman Mao says: "Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, cherish and help each other." By showing concern for the problems of the broad masses of the people, we will make them feel that our Party and cadres represent their interests and that we share the same fate with them. Thus they "will support us and regard revolution as their life,

as their own glorious banner." They will consciously unite around the Party, actively answer the Party's call, and strive for our revolutionary cause. In the spring festival of 1974, we went to a mountain area to visit the masses when we learned that the Tungszutaoling brigade, which was situated deep in the jungle, had considerable difficulty in getting drinking water and needed to sink a deep well. But sinking such a well would cost a lot of money which was difficult for a little village with only 24 families to raise. We thought that the people of this area had made contributions to revolution during the war years, and today they were working hard for socialism. We felt that the hsien Party committee was obligated to help them solve the problem and complete the well. This created a great stir among the broad masses. The well not only solved the water problem of a brigade, but also showed that the Party was concerned about the people. They were resolved to unite more closely around the Party and to strive harder than ever to make more contributions to the country. We, on our part, also learned a lot from this incident. We came to realize more deeply that to show concern for the people's life was no trifling matter, but an extremely important matter in fully mobilizing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses to fulfill the various tasks of the Party. At present, driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture is developing more extensively. The cadres and the masses are full of vigor. We should therefore show more concern for the life of the masses. This way, we can consolidate and sustain the drive of the masses.

As the old saying goes: "There is strength in a tight fist." In order to work entirely in the interests of the people, the "squad" of the hsien Party committee must unify their thoughts and actions and make every effort to strengthen revolutionary solidarity. The leading members of our committee come from different places and they include the old, the middle-aged and the young. Though each differs in his background, yet as Chairman Mao says, "we hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective." Since we all work in the interests of the people, we must unite on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. United as one, we will be able to serve the people better. If our thoughts are not unified, and if we cannot work together in harmony, it will be impossible for us to smoothly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and inevitably harm will be done to the revolution. How, then, can we speak of working for the people?

Over the past years, we have drawn infinite spiritual strength from repeated study of this brilliant article "Serve the People," and thus succeeded in setting ourselves to the task of working entirely in the interests of the people. Striving hard under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, people throughout the hsien have changed remarkably the outlook of our hsien and developed farming, forestry, cattle breeding, sideline production and fishery in an all-round manner. In 1973, the hsien's grain yield per-mow went up to 800 catties, equalling that south of the Yangtse for the first time. In 1974, it again conquered all sorts of calamities, increasing grain yield per-mow to 850 catties. From now on, we will continue to seriously study this

brilliant work "Serve the People," make demands on ourselves with the "entire" and "wholly" spirit, any further unite the people of the whole hsien to win still greater victories!

* * *

# Step Up Socialist Education

by

Chuang Li (庄立)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Feb. 1, 1975)

With the broadening, deepening and sustained development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole nation are going from victory to victory in their all-out effort to carry out the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and stepping up preparations against war. Things are flourishing on all fronts and the situation is becoming more and more favorable. In order to further facilitate fulfillment of various tasks of socialist revolution and construction, we must continue to firmly grasp the movement to criticize Lin and Confucius as a matter of prime importance under the leadership of the Party Central Committee led by Chairman Mao, step up socialist education, keep to the socialist road, criticize revisionism and capitalism, and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party's basic line calls for socialist education among the broad masses of people and cadres in urban and rural areas, an education which is also a major part of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Our great leader Chairman Mao has always stressed and attached great importance to this question. In 1962 he pointed out clearly: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." The objective law of class struggle in socialist society determines the fact that the proletariat must replace the bourgeois dictatorship with its own dictatorship in the political, economic and ideological fields, and that it must use socialism to defeat capitalism, firmly carry out the socialist education, and criticize capitalism. The more deeply we carry out socialist education in urban and rural areas, the more thoroughly we criticize capitalism, and the more obstacles we clear off the road to progress, the faster socialism will develop in every field and the more excellent the situation will become.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, we have been carrying out a socialist revolution in respect to the ownership of the means of

production on the economic front under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, as well as a penetrating socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure, including the political, ideological and cultural fields. The great victories achieved in our socialist revolution have promoted the development of our socialist cause. Each major revolutionary movement led by the Party has been a profound socialist education movement to the broad masses and cadres. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius carried out by the whole Party and people of the whole nation under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao have likewise been aimed at further resolving the basic problem of keeping to the socialist road and preventing the restoration of capitalism in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields. But, in both the economic and political-ideological fields, the struggles between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines will still be protracted and tortuous and sometimes may become very acute. During the movement to criticize Lin and Confucius, when we link up the criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius with the practical situation of class struggle in the urban and rural areas, carry out a deep socialist education, and criticize capitalist tendencies, we will be able to further promote the great revolutionary unity of people of all nationalities across the country on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and push all undertakings forward along the socialist road.

The issue of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road has always been the crucial issue of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since the founding of the People's Republic, there have been four major line struggles within our Party, all centered around the issue of which road to take. Revisionist chieftains, from Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-hui, Liu Shao-ch'i to Lin Piao had all advocated an out-and-out capitalist line, with the criminal aim of meeting the restoration needs of the landlord and bourgeois classes and turning our country back from the socialist road and to the capitalist road. The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and the Rightist essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line has been again criticized deeply during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The broad masses of people and the cadres have further raised their socialist consciousness, carried out the Party's basic line with greater resolve and criticized revisionism and capitalism even more conscientiously. All this has dealt a heavy blow to the restoration forces of capitalism and greatly consolidated the socialist position in our urban and rural areas. But the remnants of the overthrown landlords and comprador bourgeoisie still exist, the bourgeoisie still exists, and the petty-bourgeoisie has not yet been thoroughly reformed. Traces of the old society still exist in our socialist society today and can be found in the economic, ideological and cultural fields. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between them in the ideological field as well as the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads have not come to an end because of our victory in the several line struggles within the Party. The nature of the reactionary classes will not change.

After a crushing defeat, they will still try by hook or by crook to vary their counter-revolutionary tactics of attack against socialism. A small handful of class enemies either use bourgeois ideas and tactics to usurp leadership by currying favor with and corrupting some cadres and Party members, make capitalist deals under the signboard of socialism, and endeavor to change the socialist direction of our state enterprises and collective economy, or else use certain weak links of our socialist economy to stir up the ill winds of capitalism, seize the property of the state and the collective, and corrupt certain persons in the ranks of the working class in order to undermine socialism. In some units and departments, capitalist activities are still very rampant and the struggle between the two roads is still very sharp. This reflects the protracted and complex nature of class struggle, involving two kinds of contradictions--the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions on constantly stressing the basic line of the Party and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius help the broad masses of the people to further clarify the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and consolidate and develop the victorious achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution by intensifying socialist education, stepping up criticism of capitalist tendencies and strictly distinguishing between and correctly handling the two different types of contradictions.

Class struggle in the economic sphere is always closely related to class struggle in the ideological sphere. Facts show that reactionary ideas in the ideological field have a given class foundation, and the various manifestations of capitalism in the economic sphere are without exception dominated by the ideology of the exploiting classes. In order to win the struggle against capitalism, the proletariat must attach great importance to class struggle in the ideological realm and adapt the superstructure to the economic foundation of socialism. All old ideologies are part of the superstructure of the exploiting classes and, before the rule of the exploiting classes is overthrown, serve the economic foundation at that given time. After the system of capitalist private ownership is transformed into that of socialist public ownership, the reactionary classes will try to use their influence in the ideological sphere to frantically attack the proletariat and sabotage the economic basis of socialism.

Chairman Mao points out: "The remnants of the old ideas that reflect the old system will remain in the minds of people for a long time, they will not go away easily." We must not make light of the reactionary influences of the old ideology. In order to firmly follow the socialist road, safeguard the socialist economic foundation and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in every grassroots unit, the proletariat must not only apply the powerful state machine to suppress and strike at the small handful of class enemies who oppose socialism and actively engage in activities to restore capitalism, but, what is more important, frequently carry out among the broad masses and cadres in urban and rural areas "education on opposing capitalism and strengthening socialism," "propagating the superiority of the new system and criticizing the backwardness of the old system," "rejecting the spontaneous tendencies of self-seeking capitalism and advocating the socialist spirit that bases all our speeches and actions on the principle of

combining the collective interests with individual interests." We can eradicate the ideological basis of Lin Piao's revisionist line and of the handful of class enemies in our society who are trying to revive capitalism only when we repudiate and overcome all decadent ideologies with socialist ideology guided by Marxism-Leninism. If we fail to fully rid our minds of old ideas and if we do not dig up the ideological roots of capitalism but confine our struggle against capitalism to the economic sphere, we cannot solve the problem basically.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are doctrines of restoration and regression. In the history of our country, all reactionary and decadent classes resorted to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as an ideological weapon to bring about restoration and turn back the clock of history. In his attempt to bring back capitalism, Lin Piao also fished out these same doctrines from the garbage heap of history as a spiritual prop. In order to revive capitalism, the small handful of class enemies who have been trying to stir up capitalist ill winds will also attempt to break into the superstructure with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Such old ideas as Confucian and Mencian doctrines are the products of private ownership, propagating the decadent private ownership concepts as well as such reactionary viewpoints as "Heavenly will", "human nature", "doctrine of mean" and "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid." To firmly adhere to the socialist road, we must make penetrating criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we can and should combine the criticism of the Confucian and Mencian doctrines with the repudiation of Lin Piao's revisionist line, the class enemy's restore-capitalism activities and the capitalist tendencies in both urban and rural areas. Old things can be destroyed and the new established through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. When all fronts are taken by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the socialist consciousness of the broad masses and cadres is raised through education, and a radical rupture is made with all reactionary and decadent traditional concepts, the socialist system will be put on a firmer basis.

In order to carry out socialist education and criticize capitalism, we must integrate the urban with the rural areas. Capitalist tendencies exist in both rural and urban areas, within the collective economy as well as in state-owned enterprises. The capitalist activities in rural area are often related to certain people and units in cities and towns. For instance, one cannot undertake sideline production on an individual basis without the assistance of some enterprises in the city or town doing so in violation of the Party's economic policy. Nor will the outflow of rural labor occur without private recruitment by some industrial units in the urban areas. We can build a great wall against capitalist restoration among the urban and rural populace only when we carry out socialist education and oppose corruption by bourgeois ideology in cities while carrying out socialist education and criticizing capitalist tendencies in the rural areas.

"The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." It is imperative to have strong Party leadership in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, carrying out socialist education and repudiating capitalist tendencies. The Party organizations at all

levels must give full play to their role as combat citadel, firmly carry out the Party's basic line, dare to persist in the socialist direction, and dare to lead the broad masses of the people in the struggle against capitalism. They must overcome the practices of letting things take their own course and of "tackling work without a firm grip." Capitalism will benefit and socialism will suffer from our practice of the "doctrine of the mean" and "the doctrine of being a good fellow."

Whether or not state-owned enterprises and collective-owned units can persist in the socialist road and resist the ill winds of capitalism is determined by their leading bodies. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party organizations at all levels must give first priority to the rectification of leading bodies and the education of cadres. The masses of cadres have been tempered in the proletarian cultural revolution and have raised their awareness of continuing revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. This is the main current. But the revolution is developing, and we must therefore continue to educate the cadres with Marxist theories, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's aims, and help them to sum up both positive and negative experiences gained from the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines so as to steadily enhance their consciousness of the need to carry out the Party's basic line. As long as leaders and cadres, setting self-interest aside, lead the way in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and taking the socialist path, they will have the support of the masses, and units in which they work will do well and persist in the socialist direction.

The strengthening of Party leadership over the socialist education implies also the need to correctly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies, strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions, and guide the cadres and masses to direct the spearhead of struggle at Lin Piao, Confucius and the small handful of class enemies trying to stir up the ill winds of capitalism. As to certain capitalist spontaneous tendencies within the ranks of the people, we must persist in positive ideological education with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and help them see the socialist direction and the socialist path. We must carry on this political work in ideology with perseverance and care. The experiences of Tachai brigade, Hsiaochin-chuang brigade, Shouyang hsien of Shansi and other areas show: through a comparison between the proletarian dictatorship and the landlord-bourgeois dictatorship in the new and old societies, between life before and after the great proletarian cultural revolution, between results in carrying out the correct line and the erroneous line, and between the advanced and backward, and through elaborating on the sweetness of taking the socialist path and exposing the evils of capitalism and revisionism, educating the masses with their own personal experience, enabling them to combine their personal interests with the beautiful socialist prospects and convincing them of the great truth that "only socialism can save China" so that they may basically raise their consciousness of taking the socialist path--such a method of education is not only lively and easily acceptable but also yields excellent results. As for some individuals who are seriously affected by capitalist spontaneous tendencies, they too must be analyzed concretely and treated discriminately. In the case of those who have not consistently opposed and resisted the socialist system or

sabotaged the socialist economy and who are willing to take the socialist path after being educated, we should, applying the method of correctly handling the contradictions among the people, proceeding from the desire for unity and through the necessary criticism and struggle, help them raise their political awareness, change their stand, correct their mistakes and return to the socialist path. Chairman Mao has said: "We must believe that the shortcomings or mistakes among the working people can be overcome or corrected through appropriate political work." By acting upon Chairman Mao's directives, we can more properly unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and masses and thoroughly isolate and strike at a small handful of class enemies. Besides, we must also correctly grasp the economic policy of the Party, distinguish between what is a capitalist tendency and what is permitted under the Party's economic policy at the current stage. We can better preserve and mobilize the people's socialist enthusiasm only by resolutely criticizing capitalist tendencies and firmly implementing the Party's policies.

To carry out socialist education and criticize capitalist tendencies, we must persist in the Party's class line in urban and rural areas by fully relying on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants and giving free scope to their role as the main force, "The masses have great potential socialist enthusiasm." The workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who had been exploited and oppressed by imperialism, the bourgeoisie and feudalist forces hate the exploiting system and love the socialist system most. If we fully rely on the masses and mobilize them into action, we will be able to fully expose and criticize capitalist tendencies, and effectively supervise and correct all words and deeds harmful to socialism, so that socialism can be impressed more deeply on the people. The broad masses of people will temper themselves, educate themselves and reform themselves in struggle to change society.

Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, with the correct guidance of the Party's basic line plus the firm support of the millions upon millions of workers and peasants, we will certainly persist in taking the socialist road, prevent the comeback of capitalism, handle the Chinese affairs well, and strive to make relatively great contributions to mankind.

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# On Liu Yü-hsi's Political Poems

by

Wen Chün (闻军)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Feb. 1, 1975)

Liu Yü-hsi (刘禹锡 772-842 A.D.), alias Meng-te, was a well-known Legalist statesman in the mid-T'ang dynasty, a thinker with simple materialism and a celebrated poet. He and Liu Tsung-yüan (柳宗元) were part of the main bone of the landlord class reformist faction headed by Wang Shu-wen (王叔文) and Wang P'i (王伾). The political reform of the "two Wangs, Liu and Liu" was a continuation of the struggle between the Legalist and Confucian political lines in Chinese history, with the spearhead directed at the big landlord class conservative forces represented by eunuchs and vassals. Liu Yü-hsi not only firmly stood on the side of the Legalist line in the political struggle but also used the materialist viewpoint in struggle against the conservative forces in the ideological and cultural spheres. His "On Heaven" (T'ien Lun) dealt a stunning blow to the theory of Heavenly mandate preached by the Confucians. Of about 800 poems he left behind, most were written after the failure of the political reform. Among them those with a political tinge demonstrated the progressive ideological stand and militant spirit of the landlord class reformers. These poems were the products of the acute Confucian-Legalist struggle during the T'ang period and were used as weapons by the landlord reformers of the middle and lower strata in their fight against the big landlord conservatives. Many of these poems showed a brilliant marriage between ideology and art. Like the progressive literary writings of other Legalists in history, these poems were precious assets in Chinese literary heritage.

Traditionally, those who revere Confucianism and oppose the Legalist school refuse to recognize the status of the Legalists in the field of literature. They either directly obliterate the progressive literary writings of the Legalists or emasculate their military soul through willful distortion, or else they praise the dross in them while rejecting their essence. Such is the reflection of the Confucian-Legalist struggle in the field of literature. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao malignantly cursed the Legalist school as a "punitive school" and basically negated the fine literary legacy of the Legalists--for the purpose of peddling the reactionary Confucian ideas in the interest of carrying out the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and restoring capitalism. Therefore, to make an analysis of such a writer as Liu Yu-hsi and his works by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide and from the viewpoint of class struggle is important in critically inheriting the fine literary legacy, as dictated by the need to take over the front of the history of Chinese literature by Marxism and to carry out the socialist revolution in the ideological sphere.

## "A Horse, Thinking of Grass, Raises Its Hair; A Hawk, Longing for the Blue Clouds, Opens Its Sleepy Eyes"

Chairman Mao says: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." This is a general law. Liu Yü-hsi's political poems reflected the aspirations of the landlord class reformers of the middle and lower strata and served the Legalist political line. He was a man of hard bone in the violent struggle for political reform. Although the reform cause in which he participated failed and he himself was subject to slander in various ways by the conservatives, he believed that "come will the day when truth is distinguished from falsehood," ("Letter to Tu Ssu-tu") and history would prove that he was correct in carrying out the reform line compared with the conservatives. In the many long years in which he was disgraced and ridiculed, he came into more extensive contact with society and with the people and strengthened his own political faith. Even up to the eve of his death, he still praised Wang Shu-wen's reform measures and unequivocably declared: "Slandered as I have been, there is no guilt in my heart!" ("An Autobiography") Such firm adherence to progressive political ideals and militant spirit of not yielding to conservative forces were fully embodied in his political poems. In the poem "Thinking of Old Friends in the Garden of Plums," he used the example of an early plum which blossomed in icy cold weather to represent the militant spirit of fearing neither men of power nor being isolated but of bravely breaking through the old forces. His "Life of a Hero" warmly praised a hero who shot a tiger with his arrow and killed a dragon with his sword, depicting the image of his ideal hero. His "Three Poems on Learning from Juan Kung-ti" said: "As a child I had great ambitions; I believe in the Way and would not follow the vagaries of the time." "I would not learn to bend my waist so I would not be covered with mundane dust." This showed his stubborn spirit of not following the time or bending his waist even though he was under fire by the conservative forces. One of the "Two Poems on History" said: "Though the world is in turmoil, my heart is as firm as a rock in the stream." Notwithstanding the drastic changes in the situation of political struggle and the grave setbacks suffered by the reform forces, Liu Yü-hsi was as determined as ever in resisting the adverse current and kept on fighting. Even under brutal political blows, he still remembered his friends who had joined him in the struggle: "How militant I was in those old days fighting by the side of men of wisdom, and how much I want to join them again one morning." ("Five Poems on Meeting Han Chung-ch'eng in Loyang") It was with great pride that he recalled the old days when he was engaged in the reform cause and thereby kept his fighting will stimulated. His other poems such as "Lamenting by the Brook of Fools," "Tears Come to My Eyes When I Think of My Life with Lü Wen in Hengchow" and "To Han Chung-ch'eng in Huchow" were a demonstration of his deep friendship for such men as Liu Tsung-yüan, Lü Wen and Han T'ai.

Although Liu Yü-hsi was demoted and sent into a desolate border town, he still showed a keen interest in the political struggle of his day and, moreover, put down in his poems his thoughts on the major political

events at the time. The progressive measures taken during the period of T'ang Hsien Tsung to vanguish the secessionist vassals and to safeguard the unification of the country won his support and admiration. In the 12th year of Yuanho (817), Li Su launched an attack on Tsaichow in a night of snow and captured alive Wu Yuan-chi, the rebellious military commander, thereby putting an end to more than three years of fighting in Huaihsi. This was a victory for the Legalist line enforced under the auspices of P'ei Tu. This victory was praised in Liu Yü-hsi's three poems "Quelling the Rebellion in Tsaichow" and in his other poem "Travel to the West of the City." These poems expressed the strong desire of the masses of the people for unification and pointed out that no secessionist attempt would have the support of the people. "In the city of Tsaichow the people were deadly silent"--this was an artistic generalization of this political situation. One of the poems said in conclusion: "The war was over and the world was at peace; the hero, his sword in hand, looks to Ch'angshan." (In a footnote he said: "And beyond Ch'angshan") Far from being satisfied with the suppression of the rebellion in Huaihsi, he went further and called for the unification of the country. In the 14th year of Yuanho (819), the T'ang dynasty recovered the 12 chou of Tzuch'ing that had been seceeded for as long as 54 years and executed the military governor Li Shih-tao, thereby bringing about temporary unification of the country. For this, Liu Yü-hsi wrote two poems "Tranquility Follows Suppression."

The spearhead of struggle in Liu Yü-hsi's political poems was directed at the big landlord conservative forces represented by the eunuchs and vassals. In a group of allegorical poems, using the images of some animals, he drew a vivid portrait of the decadent conservatives. For instance, the "Ballad of Gathering Mosquitoes":

> Quiet is the summer night in the open courtyard,
> The mosquitoes, hiding in the dark, roar as a thunderclap,
> Which startles me as if a landslide had occurred in the
> south mountains.
> They like to shout and dance in the dark at night,
> Fooling the ignorant and the wise.
> The moon rises high in the sky,
> Yet people are bitten in the dark.
> I am seven foot high, you so little,
> I am alone and you are many, can you hurt me?
> Though sometimes harm may not be checked,
> I must spread a net over my bed.
> When day breaks, you will vanish out of sight.

These mosquitoes were afraid of sunlight and fond of darkness. When night fell, they would come out to make noise and bite. Wasn't this a lively portrait of those eunuchs? However, these harmful insects could only be rampant for a while, and once the autumn wind blew, they would all perish. In "The Flying Kite" he used the sparrow-hawks which vied with each other for the dead rats to describe the bureaucrats who struggled with each other for power and gain: "The hawks are large in shape but small in heart. How can they be held in esteem if what they do is harmful to man?" The "Long-Tongue" depicted the image of the rumormongers with

"ever changing tongues." The "White Falcon" satirized the accomplices and henchmen in the employ of the high and mighty. These four poems depicted the reactionary characters of four different types and exposed their ugly and feeble nature, and had a profound political significance.

Two superb verses written during his visit to the temple of Hsuantu stressed Liu Yü-hsi's resolve to fight the conservative forces without fear. Ten years after he was sent into exile, he was recalled to Changan, and he wrote "To the Flower-Watching Gentlemen During My Tour of the Temple of Hsuantu":

> The purple weeds and red dust come upon my face,
> Everyone says he has returned from seeing the blossoms.
> There are a thousand peach trees in the temple of Hsuantu,
> They were all planted after the former admirer had gone.

This poem spread quickly in Changan, but its "satirical tune displeased those who held the reins of power"; ("Biography of Liu Yü-hsi, History of Former T'ang") "those who were jealous of him accused him before high officials of being treacherous.... A few days later, he was sent off to take up the post of governor of Lienchou." (Meng Ch'i: "Poems on Events") However, this did not cause Liu Yü-hsi to give up his struggle against the conservatives. 14 years later, in the second year of Taho of Wen Tsung, he again returned to Changan, and bringing up the old subject again, he wrote "Temple of Hsuantu Re-visited," with a short foreword: "When I was sent to a small border town in the 21st year of Chenyuan, there were no flowers in this temple. After being governor of Lienchou for ten years, I was recalled to the capital. I heard people say that some Taoists had planted fairly beautiful peach-blossoms and the temple was filled with a red glow. That was why I wrote the former poem.... Soon I was sent out again. 14 years have passed since then.... When I re-visited Hsuantu, I did not see one single tree. Only the sunflowers and rye plants wavered in the spring wind...." The poem went:

> Half of the hall was covered with moss.
> Gone are the peach blossoms; only the vegetable flowers
> are in full bloom.
> Where have the peach-growing Taoists gone?
> The former admirer has returned.

This poem once again incensed the conservatives who were holding the reins of power. According to "Biography of Liu Yü-hsi, History of Latter T'ang," Liu Yü-hsi "came under fire for his contempt for power, and he was soon sent off to Tungtu." The peach blossoms in the poem were obliquely directed at those new power holders of the conservative faction who, ruling supreme in the capital, thought that they could always preserve their honor and riches, which were but passing clouds in the eyes of Liu Yü-hsi. These two poems expressed his utter scorn for the arrogant power holders. "The former admirer has returned" showed his righteous self-confidence and tenacious fighting spirit.

The practice of political struggle tempered his will as well as giving him pride in his fight. The thinking and life of the pre-Ch'in Legalist Han Fei had stirred him greatly: "Turmoil was rising around him, but he was reading aloud Solitary Indignation to restore his calm." ("Early Advent of Autumn Flood") Such solitary indignation was a protest against the conservative forces, indignation directed at the decadent politics. His poem "Looking at the Sword Ring":

> I always hate the inadequacy of words
> at expressing the meaning of men.
> Today we look at each other, a thousand thoughts
> binding us.

As a statesman with Legalist thinking, Liu Yü-hsi naturally hoped to do something. But, "though Heaven may endow me with ability, it does not allow me to use it." ("Autobiography") Looking at the sword ring, he could not help feeling a sense of frustration as he had not been able to fulfill his ambition and wanted to try again. In the poem "Autumn Sound" to "convey his own solitary indignation," he compared himself to a daring eagle, saying: "The eagle may have grown old, but it still has feelings." "It may still exert its force and fly faster than the autumn sound." Like Ts'ao Ts'ao who "likened himself to an old horse longing to gallop a thousand miles," and though he felt being like an old eagle tied by a rope and could not spread his wings and fly, he was as ambitious and tenacious as ever and remained so even in his declining years. In his poem "When I First Heard of the Autumn Wind," he cried aloud: "The horse, thinking of the grass, raises its hair; the hawk, longing for the blue clouds, open its sleepy eyes. Look around, the earth is quiet. Sick as you are, let me help you get onto the terrace." While he had become old and feeble, he still longed to go on fighting for the reform cause. Such spirit is extremely precious indeed.

## "The Rise and Fall of a State Depend on Affairs Among Men; Mountains and Rivers Exist only in Shape"

In the history of Chinese literature there were many poems dwelling on the past, on history. Most of these poems were clearly politically-oriented. Some poets who worshipped Confucianism and opposed the Legalist school took the opportunity to call for a return to the old and oppose reform, and while they embellished the "sages" of the Confucian school, they slandered the reform cause of the Legalists. On the other hand, the Legalists and poets who revered the Legalist school and opposed Confucianism often took this opportunity to propagate reform, oppose regression, criticize the evil government of the conservatives and served the political struggles in their own days. When dealing with some bourgeois revolutionaries, Marx stated: "They anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language." ("The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte") This statement may help us understand the situation in which Chinese ancient Legalists waged the struggle in their time by using history. For instance, Li Po's "The King of Ch'in Conquers Six States," Li Ho's

"The King of Ch'in Sips Wine," and Wang An-shih's "Shang Yang," fell into this category. One can understand the political content and historical significance of Liu Yü-hsi's poems in remembrance of the past only by making an analysis of them from this angle. These poems not only showed the progressive conception of history but also examined the present in the context of the past and were part of his political poems.

Liu Yü-hsi, who had relatively rich experience of political struggle, came into extensive contact with social realities after he was demoted and had a profound feeling of the political crisis and economic decline facing the T'ang dynasty. His poems in remembrance of the past were aimed at the contemporary political struggle. When he was passing through Chinling on his way back to Loyang from Hochow in the second year of Paoli of T'ang Ching-tsung (826), he wrote a poem called "Thinking of the Old in Chinling." Chinling was the ancient capital of six dynasties with extremely difficult terrain--"dragon poised in the river and tiger perched on the rocks." But it could not save these dynasties from doom. This touched Liu Yü-hsi so deeply that he sighed: "The rise and fall of a state depend on affairs among men; mountains and rivers exist only in shape." This summed up a profound historical lesson: The rise and extinction of a state hinged entirely on human affairs and one could not rely on the difficult terrain of mountains and rivers. When we link this with his materialist work "On Heaven," we see that affairs among men referred to here meant the political line. "On Heaven" said: "The behavior of man is governed by laws, which are applied to distinguishing between right and wrong." "The constancy of Heaven is governed by its own rules, which do not decide the order or disorder on earth." This meant that provided that there was a correct political line which attached importance to the legal system, a state might be governed well and rose to become strong; otherwise, it would plunge into chaos and perish. The poem said in conclusion: "The song 'Flowers in the Backyard' is so sad that one cannot bear hearing it." The sounds of national subjugation were still ringing in the ear and the lessons of history could not be forgotten. This poem "Thinking of the Old in Chinling" issued a caveat to the power holders in the T'ang court: If you should be content with the same old rules without seeking reform and getting rid of malpractices in administration and if the legal system were not instituted and vigorously enforced, then Changan, though fortified as it was, could suffer the same fate as Chinling, and the great T'ang empire might fall in the same way as the six dynasties before it.

Some of Liu Yü-hsi's poems in remembrance of the old used the concept of ever changing and developing history to depict the decay and decline of the corrupt political forces in history and provided one with political enlightenment. The rise and fall of an ancient city and the appearance and disappearance of a small lane could touch off the feeling of the poet. "The Rock City":

No more was the ancient state surrounded by
mountains.
Tides now pound at the empty city and I return
to it a lonely man.
The Huai river water flows in the east and the
moon is the same old moon.
The night is deep, but where could I find men
I used to talk to?

The Rock [Shihtou] City was originally built by the Eastern Wu State in the period of the Three Kingdoms; it was an important city during the Eastern Tsin and Southern Dynasties. It had a glorious past, but by the T'ang dynasty it had fallen into decay. The poem described its desolation, graphically showing the end of a historical era, reminding one of the result of the corrupt politics of the Southern Dynasty. "The Birds Lane":

Wild plants grow by the edge of the Chuchiao Bridge,
The sun is setting and sparrows are flying in the Birds Lane.
Houses occupied by the rich men
like Wang and Hsieh are now occupied by ordinary men.

This poem cogently satirized what were once rich and powerful families. The Birds Lane was located in the Chinling city, not far from the Chuchiao Bridge on the Huai River. It was a place where lived the powerful families like the Wang and Hsieh in the Eastern Tsin period. The poem described the desolate scene at dusk on the edge of Chuchiao Bridge and in the Birds Lane. Only the sparrows were still flying back and forth and the magnificent mansions occupied by the Wang and Hsieh had been broken up into houses of ordinary people. The old Wang and Hsieh families mentioned in the poem referred to those once powerful conservative characters. The new powerful conservatives could not escape the same doom as the old Wang and Hsieh families.

In view of the serious threat posed by the secessionist vassals, Liu Yü-hsi in some poems dealing with history graphically pointed out: Unification was the trend of history and the desire of the people and any attempt at secession would eventually fail. "Thinking of the Old on the Hsisai Mountain":

Wang Chün led his troops down the river to I-chou,
The atmosphere in the palace in Chinling was subdued.
The thousand iron chains fell to the bottom of the river,
The land was strewn with rocks.
Think of the past painful events on earth,
The mountains are the same bathed in the frost
Now as I am passing through,
I am struck by the quiet in the old fortress.

The Hsisai Mountain is located near the Tayeh hsien of present-day Hupeh. It looks like a mountain fortress with difficult terrain. It was an important mountain stronghold in the western part of the Wu state during the Three Kingdoms period. Although the poem was entitled "Thinking of

the Old on the Hsisai Mountain," it began with Chinling. The first four lines forcefully recalled how Wang Chün of the Tsin dynasty led his navy to I-chow (present-day Chengtu of Szechwan) and thence reached Chinling through the river. Sun Hao, the king of Wu, was compelled to surrender. The thousand iron chains (the river embankment works built by the state of Wu) could not block the tides of unification. The fifth and sixth lines were a description of the Hsisai Mountain. Since the western Tsin nothing had changed on these mountains and river, yet the Eastern Tsin, Sung, Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en which established their capital in Chinling perished one after another, and the country remained divided. Although now the T'ang dynasty had long unified the country, yet old fortresses of secession and division still existed. This reminded one of the situation at that time in which some warlords were guarding their domains with heavy troops trying to secede from the central government. The moral of the poem was obviously to make people think that since the threat of division still existed, it must not be ignored.

In addition, in such poems as "The Temple of the First King of Shu," "Looking at the Battle Plans" and "On History" Liu Yü-hsi gave full affirmation to such Legalists as Liu Pei, Chuko Liang and Chia I. In the other poems "Kusu Terrace" and "Seeing Hsuan Tsung," he satirized the dissipated life of the emperors and their superstitious beliefs and these had profound implications at that time.

## Beyond the Sunken Boat Sail Past a Thousand Boats; Beyond the Diseased Tree Flourish a Thousand Trees in the Spring

Although many of Liu Yü-hsi's lyrical poems did not directly represent a concrete political event, yet the thoughts and feelings they induced were the personal experiences of the author, and naturally they demonstrated his political stand and spiritual outlook. In such poems Liu Yü-hsi demonstrated acutely both a sense of militancy and a sense of optimism for the future, showing his simple dialectical thinking. For instance, his widely read "Meeting Lo Tien For the First Time at a Banquet in Yangchou":

> The Pa mountain and the Chu River--the land is
> deserted.
> For 23 years I have led a life outside politics.
> Thinking of the past, I recite alone the
> "Verses on Hearing the Flute."
> When I reached home, I was like the man carrying an
> axe with a broken handle.
> Beyond the sunken boat sail past a thousand boats,
> Beyond the diseased tree flourish a thousand trees in the spring.
> Today I hear you sing a song, and let us drink
> for the growing spirit.

This poem was written in the second year of Paoli (826) when he was returning to Loyang after he was relieved of his post as governor of Hochou and met Pai Chu-i in Yangchow. He was already 55 then. More than 20 years had passed since the political reform failed and he was demoted and extiled

to remote border areas like Langchou, Lienchou and Hsiehchou. Now that he was returning to the north, he felt he was entering a new world. Some old friends who joined the reform movement with him had died, and he could only recite "Verses on Hearing the Flute" in their memory. "Verses on Hearing the Flute" referred to "Verses on Thinking of the Old" by Hsiang Hsiu of Tsin. After Chi K'ang was killed, Hsiang Hsiu passed through his old residence when he heard his "neighbors playing the flute loudly," and this so touched him that he wrote the above verses. "Man carrying an axe with a broken handle" was quoted from the story in "Strange Stories" in which Wang Chih of the Tsin dynasty went into a mountain to gather wood when he met an immortal. After staying with that immortal for a while, Wang found that the handle of the axe he used to chop wood had broken. "When he went back, he found that the immortal had disappeared." The first four lines of the poem related his own experience, giving vent to his anger at being unable to realize his progressive ideals under the attack by the conservatives and his remembrance of his friends in the reform camp. "Sunken boat" cited the changes of nature to hint at the development of society, that decadent things would inevitably be replaced by new things, and this was an objective law. He did not have a sense of hopelessness because of his old age, and he warmly praised the thousand boats sailing by and the ten thousand trees growing thrivingly in the spring, and sang of the new things that were fast catching up from behind. Finally, in the poem, he expressed his thanks for the hospitality of his friends and exhorted himself with "growing spirit." Indeed, man must have some spirit. As a landlord class reformer with Legalist thinking, Liu Yü-hsi showed in his poems a militant spirit that signified his resolve to look forward and do something good. His spent his prime years by doing minor duties in remote border areas, and when he returned to the north he was already an old man and saw that all his old friends had gone. Lamenting over one's old age had been a favorite subject in ancient poetry, but this was not so with Liu Yü-hsi. His attitude was one of "doing something of value in my remaining years." ("Thinking in the Night") "Although I have grown old, I am still like a tree which is green in winter." ("To Lo Tien") Like a green tree in the winter he wanted to make up for his lost years as a young man by doing good work in his old age. Moreover, he confidently said: "It is never too late; the glow still fills the sky." ("Talking with Lo Tien on Old Age") This means that even in his old age he was like the evening glow that filled the sky, wanting to do something great!

Liu Yü-hsi took the view that "the heavlor of man is regulated by laws," ("On Heaven") that fortune and misfortune were not decided by Heaven but grew from "contradictions between the upright and the bent." ("The Boat") Therefore, he was able to see the succession and changes of things. Such simple dialectical ideas were often embodied in his poems. For instance, "The Old Wall in Ancient Loyang City":

Flowers fall off; how many springs have gone.
Wind blows and rain drops; earth turns into dust.
The wall is dangerous, yet countless people
have passed by it.

The old wall of the ancient Loyang city had long been beaten by wind and rain, yet still countless people had passed through under it, even though it might collapse at any time. Things always develop and advance without hitch. The poem "Looking Forward to Spring in Hanshou City," after depicting the desolate scene of the ancient city, said: "When there will be changes I know not, but this place will some day regain its prominence." Liu Yü-hsi believed that in the world things were continuously changing and there were always bright prospects for reform and progress. Pai Chu-i once sent him a poem deploring the death of old friends. In his reply in the form of a poem, he displayed an optimistic spirit of ever marching forward: "In the fragrant forest new leaves are taking the place of the old; in the river waves rise after waves." ("Lamenting Over Wei-chih, Tun-Shih and Mei-shu") Such a forward-looking viewpoint made the tune of the poem lofty. His two poems on "Autumn" were rather unusual in praise of autumn. Since Sung Yü's "Nine Distinctions," men of letters had felt autumn was a season of gloom. In classical poems the authors once coming upon the color of autumn, always lamented over their bitter experience. This was not so with Liu Yü-hsi. For instance, the first poem on "Autumn":

> Since ancient times autumn was taken as a sign of
> gloom and loneliness,
> But I say autumn is better than spring.
> In the blue sky cranes line up in a row,
> I cannot but ask them to carry my poetic feeling to the
> firmament.

Such a scene as the lofty sky with blue clouds drifting across thousands of miles and with white cranes flying through them could not possibly be written by those men of letters with "romantic Confucian sentiment." The color of autumn encouraged people's fighting will. "Gloom does not make me give up my ambition." ("Three poems on Learning from Juan Kung-ti") Therefore, always with an aspiration to struggle he greeted the advent of autumn. "When leaves on the mountains become red, one feels now is better than spring." ("Travelling Along the Chiangling River") On the mountain enveloped by the color of autumn, he saw the bright and beautiful light of spring. "Only bamboo beaten by frost and tested by fire can make good musical instruments." ("In Reply to Yang Pa-ching's Superb Verses") This precisely demonstrated the immense optimism and largeness of mind of a progressive statesman in his struggle against the conservative forces.

## "Please Do Not Play the Old Tunes; Hear and Sing the New Song 'Willow Branches'"

To oppose sticking to the old rules and calling for reform and progress--this was the principal spirit that ran through Liu Yü-hsi's political life and literary writings. During his stay in Langchou, Lienchou and Hsiehchou, he had the opportunity to come into contact with the local laboring people. This enabled him to write not only poems such as "Picking the Water-caltrop," "Transplanting in the Fields," and "Plowing" giving expression to the life of the peasants but also such folk poems as "Willow Branches," "Bamboo Branches," "Sand Washed by Waves," and "Singing While Working" which were inspired by the folk songs and dances of the local people. Both in ideological content and artistic form these

poems gave expression in a more acute form his reform spirit. In a foreword to "Bamboo Branches," he said: "In the old days Chü Yuan lived in Juanhsiang, where people were superstitious and were vulgar in their speech. So he wrote the 'nine Songs,' which remain popular to this day." Therefore, he, too, wanted to write the "Bamboo Branches" for "those who know how to sing." In the first poem on "Willow Branches," he declared even more succinctly:

> In the northern border land plums blossom and the
> flute blows,
> South of the Huai River cinnamon trees flourish
> in small hills.
> Please do not play the old tunes,
> Hear and sing the new song "Willow Branches"!

"About Plum Blossoms" was a flute song composed by Huan I of Eastern Tsin after participating in the battle of Feishui. The first line of "Waving to the Hermit" written by Hsiao Shan of Huainan of the Han dynasty in "commemoration of Chü Yuan" was "among the cinnamon trees there is a bitterness about the mountain," and the moral was that "men of promise should come back, for you cannot stay on the mountain for long." These were new songs with political implications at that time, but in the view of Liu Yü-hsi they were already "old tunes" that had outlived their time and should be replaced by new ones. Ideas of reform should be propagated to meet the realities of the new era in which he lived. Actually this was his purpose and demand for writing the political poems.

Liu Yü-hsi's poems written in the popular style, through "being passed around from hand to hand among the people," were intended to propagate his Legalist political ideals. A group of poems was composed of "Willow Branches," "Sand Washed by Waves" and "Bamboo Branches" in the form of "Nine Songs." With clear and fast language, lively images and expressive presentation, these poems depicted his various experiences in actual social and political life and expressed his faith in political reform with Legalist political ideas and historical viewpoint calling for reform and progress. They also criticized the conservative forces. In these poems he pinned his beautiful ideals on the image of the willow trees, contrasted brilliantly by the "widely acclaimed" peach blossoms. "Willow trees grow at both ends of the bridge and are praised by the passers-by." ("Bamboo Branches") "While the peach blossoms may fall off in the eastern part of the city, the willow trees survive indefinitely." ("Willow Branches") In addition, he wrote three poems on "Willow Blossoms," using them to give vent to his desire to "dance wildly in the blue sky and think boundlessly." Like the willow blossoms in a season of falling flowers, he wanted to spread his reform ideas. In the group of poems on "Sand Washed by Waves," he showed that "washing sand for gold" symbolized the triumph of the tenacious spirit in pursuing the reform cause. "The ornaments of beauties and the seals of princes are made of gold found from sand." The precious gold resulted from the diligent search through the sand. "Slanders may be as deep as the waves, but the travellers may be compared to the sinking sand. Gold can only be found from diligent search through the sand." This gave expression to the poet's resolve and faith in his struggle for political reform. "The river flows on, wave upon

wave"--this demonstrated the militant spirit of not fearing storms and setbacks. According to historical records, the poems read among the people at that time were "mostly written by Yü-hsi." ("Biography of Liu Yü-hsi, History of Former T'ang") It can be seen that the people liked the new tunes composed by Liu Yü-hsi propagating the reform ideas.

Liu Yü-hsi saw the new meaning of the folk songs and drew nourishment from them. This was an embodiment of his creative pursuit of reform and opposition to the spirit of sticking to the old rules. Lu Hsün pointed out: "In the T'ang dynasty such poems as 'Bamboo Branches' and 'Willow Branches' were written by unknown persons; they were collected and polished by poets and were passed down to later generations." Since these poems were "firm and fresh," they were "absorbed" by men of letters into "their own works as new nourishment." ("A Layman's Talk") Lu Hsün also liked such works as those produced by Liu Yü-hsi. The third line of one of his "Two Poems Dedicated to a Friend" goes: "Sing the new tunes with all the joy." This line was inspired by Liu Yü-hsi's "Singing While Working." Most of the poems by Liu Yü-hsi which were read because of their higher literary refinement consisted of seven lines, and this was inseparable from his study of forms liked by the people such as "Bamboo Branches." Wang Fu-chih of the early Ch'ing period thought that Liu Yü-hsi's poems of seven lines were "expansive and natural" and highly lyrical in description of scenes. ("Talks on Chiangchai Poetry") He meant that these poems were fresh and forceful, rich in the flavor of life. These were exactly the distinguishing features of such poems as "Bamboo Branches," and constituted the style of folk songs. In the history of Chinese literature, poets with inclination toward Legalist thinking, such as Chü Yuan, Ts'ao Ts'ao, Li Po and Li Ho all drew their nourishment from folk songs, which brought a new life to their poetic creations. Such efforts themselves were closely related to their call for reform and progress in opposition to conservatism.

"Please do not sing the old tunes" expressed in a concentrated manner Liu Yü-hsi's reform spirit. Chairman Mao points out: "In the world the old is always superseded by the new or the new emerges through the old." Therefore, we lay the emphasis on those works which give expression to the poets' progressive political attitude and ideological inclinations. These political poems were the quintessence of Liu Yü-hsi's poems. Here we can see clearly the positive influence of Legalist thinking on the development of poetry and literature. But, as a landlord class writer in the feudal society, Liu Yü-hsi, even in these poems, could not prevent them from being stamped with the brands of the time and his class. Not only were there some unhealthy elements in such works as "Bamboo Branches," but in his poems which demonstrated his political attitude and militant spirit, there was some expression of "cynicism and frustration," which could not but weaken their militancy. In some poems in remembrance of the past and history, there was sometimes demonstrated a low mood caused by "the changes in human affairs." Besides, from historical events he also drew some negative and erroneous lessons. For instance, he said, "I wished I could be an ordinary man playing with a yellow dog and wearing crude clothes." ("Beating the Drum") In his lyrical poems, and particularly in his poems written in his late years he often showed a yearning for a life

of leisure owing to his separation from the whirlpool of political struggle. He said, for instance, "I long for joy among men", ("Singing Wildly after I Was Drunk with Lo Tien") "May I drink through the night and till dawn." ("Drinking in the Night" This showed the desire of feudal men of letters for "leisure." He adopted the attitude of compromising with Buddhism. In his literary collections he had a group of poems dedicated to monks. Although the poems did not elaborate on "Buddhist teachings," they were nevertheless passive and should be criticized. After the mid-T'ang period the class contradictions gradually intensified and fermenting in society were large-scale peasant uprisings. And although the landlord class reformers called for reform, due to their class and epochal constraints, they were unable to take cognizance of the peasants' strength and in the course of political struggle failed to see any way out. In their poems they naturally gave vent to their passive feelings.

"Please do not sing the old tunes." But it was impossible for Liu Yü-hsi to draw an absolutely clear distinction between the "new tunes" and "old tunes." Only we, the proletarians,can make the most radical rupture with traditional concepts. "Beyond the sunken boat sail past a thousand and boats; beyond the diseased tree flourish a thousand trees in the spring." Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the proletariat and the revolutionary people will certainly be able to create the most dazzling spring in the history of mankind!

* * *

END

# Idealism and Mechanicalism On the Question of War

## - a critique of Lin Piao's "six tactical principles"

by

K'o Shu (柯 术)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, February 1, 1975)

Insofar as ideological and theoretical sources are concerned, the conflict between the proletarian and bourgeois military lines is one between two lines of philosophy and boils down to the question of whether to apply materialist dialectics or idealism and mechanicalism to knowing about and directing war. Chairman Mao points out, "Epistemologically speaking, the source of all erroneous views on war lies in idealist and mechanistic tendencies on the question." The reason why Lin Piao's "six tactical principles" were erroneous and why applying these "principles" to guiding war invariably resulted in loss and even defeat was that politically they were the products of the Right-deviating opportunist line and epistemologically stuff of idealism and mechanicalism, things that did not smack of the slightest flavor of materialist dialectics but were opposed to materialist dialectics.

"The laws of war, like the laws governing all other things, are reflections in our minds of objective realities; everything outside of the mind is objective reality." Correct strategic and tactical principles that reflect the laws of war are all derived from actual experience of war and are repeatedly tested in war; therefore, they represent compatibility between the subjective and the objective and unity between theory and reality. The "ten major military principles" Chairman Mao set out for us while leading the Chinese revolutionary war were produced and developed on the basis of prolonged revolutionary war practice including the ten-year civil war, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the early part of the War of Liberation. They are products of the integration between the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the brilliant example of applying materialist dialectics to the guidance of war. That is why they constituted a major magic weapon with which our army defeated the enemy and won the victory.

How did Lin Piao concoct his "six tactical principles" ("one point, two sides," "four-fast, one-slow," "three kinds of situation and three methods of fighting," "three-fierce," "the 3-3 system," and "four groups, one team")? Did he, as he had bragged, derive them from "a knowledge of objective conditions in the Northeast," "the basic experience of fighting in the Northeast" and "hundreds of battles"? Certainly not. Less than a month after he arrived in the Northeast in the early period of the War of Liberation, he produced the so-called "tactics of one point, two sides" after fighting in the main some small-scale defensive battles. And he said that the "tactics of four-fast, one-slow" were produced in

view of the fact that "the attacks on Tehui and Szup'ing were rash and premature." The fact is not so. The failure to capture Szup'ing was caused by Lin Piao pushing the "tactics of one point, two sides," while the failure to take Tehui was due to the fact that Lin Piao fearing enemy reinforcements arbitrarily ordered his forces to withdraw from the fighting. These two battles did not fail because they were "rash and premature," and therefore the conclusion of "four-fast, one-slow" could not be drawn. As to the origin of "four-fast, one-slow," in Lin Piao's own words, "Now we propose to go slow" "not because we base ourselves on past fighting experience or on general military principles." In that case, then, from where did such tactics originate? Obviously, they could only originate from his "especially clever" brain. Lin Piao once wrote privately: "Tactics need not be thorough, but they must enable us to deal with a given situation for a time." His "tactical principles" were things that came out from his "strong imagination" and "habits of piecing things together" for deceiving the people. Did he not say that "in doing things" one must "proceed from the subjective to the objective, from idea to reality"? The "six tactical principles" were an outstanding manifestation of his subjective idealism on the question of war.

Precisely because these "six tactical principles" were not scientifically generalized from actual experience but were "thought out" and "fabricated," they could hardly make the subjective correspond with the objective; on the contrary, speaking generally, they were characterized by the split between the subjective and the objective and the separation of knowledge from practice.

Lin Piao maintained that the "most important aspect of his tactics" was "one point, two sides." What was "one point, two sides"? He explained: "By one point we mean that it is necessary to choose the weakest point of the enemy and concentrate on it with the principal part of our force." "What we mean by two sides is that we should not use the commando and containing units for the frontal attack." He added: "'One point' aims at defeating the enemy and 'two sides' aims at wiping out the enemy who has been defeated." To "defeat" and "wipe out"--how nice it sounded. Actually, however, according to Lin Piao's "tactics," when it came to the deployment of military force "seven-ninths or even eight-ninths of it should be used for the main direction, and two-ninths or even as little as one-ninth should be used for the secondary direction," and there might even "be a 'point' without 'sides'." The result would inevitably be a general parallel attack which at most could only rout and drive away the enemy but could not have him totally annihilated. The principle that could really lead to the annihilation of the enemy was that set by Chairman Mao: "In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net." This principle of Chairman Mao's from the overall disposition of military force and battle arrangements laid a reliable basis for the complete annihilation of the enemy. It is thoroughly materialist, making for

compatibility between the subjective and the objective and unity of theory and practice. Lin Piao, too, spoke of the need to concentrate forces, but he only dealt with it in terms of ratios of troops on his "point" and "sides," and did not mean predominance over the enemy's forces on the battlefield. But without superior forces on the battlefield and without encircling the enemy completely, it would be impossible to wipe him out. Therefore, when Lin Piao said that "one point, two sides" were "tactics" for "wiping out the enemy," that "if the enemy at one point were beaten, the rest will crumble," etc., this was nothing but his wishful thinking and subjective nonsense inconsistent with objective reality.

Let us again take "four-fast, one-slow." Lin Piao had made it very clear that "what is meant by four-fast, one-slow is in fact slow and nothing else." This was purely idealist talk. Being good at choosing the right moment to fight is one of the important links in winning a war. Campaigns and battles of quick decision are the basic requirements of our army's operations. Therefore, swift action and being good at choosing the right moment appears to be especially important. Right moments for fighting arise and disappear depending on changes in the situation of the enemy and our own. Correct guidance of war must be based on the conditions of the enemy and our own in various respects. "Proper consideration of time and circumstances" and flexible application of tactics will make subjective guidance correspond with objective reality. But Lin Piao's so-called "four-fast, one-slow" departed from this reality, for he subjectively decided this "fast" and that "slow" and essentially all his actions were marked by the word "slow." This completely went against the laws of war.

Practice is the criterion for examining knowledge, and naturally it is also the criterion for examining strategy and tactics. Lin Piao made his "six tactical principles" look like something sacred and inviolable, and attributed all victories to them, saying "a battle successfully fought means their fruitful application." However, in practice, war pronounced his "six tactical principles" bankrupt. The various units of our Northeast Field Army had fought many battles of annihilation and won them by implementing Chairman Mao's military thinking and his "ten major military principles." In contrast, all battles fought in accordance with Lin Piao's "six tactical principles" were without exception battles which only put the enemy to rout or battles of attrition in which the loss outweighed the gain. It was for this reason that the "six tactical principles" continually aroused the suspicion of the masses of commanders and fighters and were boycotted and opposed by them. At that time Lin Piao himself could not but lament that his tactics "did not attract the attention of everybody" and "even up to now, these ideas haven't been accepted." They could not stand theoretically, were unworkable in practice or were not accepted by the masses of commanders and fighters. Such was the conclusion drawn by history for his "six tactical principles," and such was the inevitable fate of his subjective idealist stuff of "from the subjective to the objective."

All opportunists are not only idealists but also mechanicalists on the question of war. Lin Piao's "six tactical principles" were typically mechanicalist. He was totally ignorant of dialectics. In many instances he used certain seemingly dialectical phrases only for the sake of deceiving people and replacing and opposing dialectics with eclecticism and sophistries.

Materialist dialectics requires that we look at a problem from all sides and avoid studying a problem with subjective one-sidedness and superficiality. A salient characteristic of Lin Piao's "six tactical principles" was exactly subjective one-sidedness and superficiality. He knew only a bit about the contradictions in war; he saw only the phenomenon but not the essence, and denied the need to deeply delve into contradictions. He severed or transposed the interrelationship between things, and failed to see both the possibility and inevitability of opposites transforming into each other under given conditions. Because of this, his "tactical principles" could in no way reflect the internal laws of war nor supply the correct methods for solving the problems of war; on the contrary, they could only cause the thinking of people to become rigid, one-sided and absolute and lead to errors in the guidance of war.

For instance, his "tactics of one point, two sides" seemed to be rather complete and dialectical, there being a point and sides. But under this seemingly complete and dialectical cover the ideological content consisted of "'points' and not 'sides'" and of "defeating the many with the few" in campaigns and battles. This was entirely one-sided and mechanical. According to materialist dialectics, war is a contest of strength, but strength under given conditions of war may and can change its original shape. Chairman Mao points out: "Our strategy is 'pit one against ten' and our tactics are 'pit ten against one'." This thinking of Chairman Mao's is a brilliant example of applying materialist dialectics to the guidance of war, for it vividly reveals the laws governing the mutual opposition and transformation of the superior situation of the enemy and our inferior situation, and it is a basic principle for our army to triumph over the enemy. Under the guidance of correct operational concepts set forth by Chairman Mao, our army, concentrating absolutely superior forces in campaigns and battles, created superiority, initiative and took the offensive under conditions that were generally inferior, passive and defensive. With the passage of time, it finally altered the overall strategic situation in which the enemy was strong, advanced and attacked and we were inferior, retreated and defended, and maintained this situation until the enemy was totally annihilated. Lin Piao knew nothing at all about such revolutionary dialectics. He saw only one aspect -- the enemy's superior military strength and our inferior military strength -- without seeing the other aspect -- our political superiority and the enemy's political inferiority. He saw only the actuality of the enemy's military superiority and our military inferiority without seeing the possibility of creating conditions through subjective efforts to bring about their mutual transformation into each other. He saw the enemy's superiority and our inferiority in military strength as

something static, absolute and unchangeable. In campaigns and battles he could only "defeat the many with the few," and this was a concentrated expression of the metaphysical world outlook. According to the military principles set by Chairman Mao, only by concentrating an absolutely superior force in campaigns and battles can we encircle the enemy completely, and only by encircling him completely and carrying out concentrated attacks along many routes can we attack him in the rear and at the same time concentrate our forces to make a smooth breakthrough in the direction of our main attack, thereby wiping out the enemy one by one. However, Lin Piao exaggerated the role of the "point" in campaigns and battles and drew up plans in which "the head is point-sharp but the tail is long," being blind to the inner connection of inter-dependence and interaction between the three -- concentrating a superior force, encircling the enemy completely and launching concentrated attacks along many routes. He treated the "point" as isolated and absolute, causing it to lose the conditions of its existence and the role it ought to play. This, too, is a reflection of his metaphysical world outlook. Thus, the so-called "tactics of one point, two sides" founded on the metaphysical basis could neither annihilate the enemy in campaigns and battles nor change the overall situation in which the enemy is superior and we are inferior.

Materialist dialectics requires concrete analysis to be made of concrete conditions so that through such analysis the characteristics of contradictions can be known and a correct method may be found for solving them. War is a movement of opposites, the enemy and ourselves, complicated and variable in its conditions, more unscrutable and less certain or "probable" than other social phenomena. Therefore, it becomes even more important to make concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Lin Piao's "three kinds of situation and three methods of fighting" also appeared to stress the need to analyze conditions and deal with them separately. Actually he merely enumerated several fragmentary, superficial cases in war and arbitrarily fit the complex and variable conditions into his simple and rigid formulas. Was the enemy's movement on the battlefield limited to only "three kinds of situations" -- "defense," "retreat" and "on the point of retreat"? Such interpretation was groundless both in theory and in practice. The basic forms of fighting are offense and defense. Offense and defense act on and transform into each other. Offense turns into defense and vice versa, advance turns into retreat and vice versa -- conditions are complicated and variable, and are definitely not limited to the "three kinds of situations" Lin Piao referred to. Take the retreating enemy for example. There are different conditions in which he retreats: he retreats because he has been routed, he retreats in an orderly fashion in order to consolidate his dispositions or to free himself from a disadvantageous position, or he retreats in order to lure us to advance and fall into his trap. We must see the essence through the phenomena and judge the enemy's intention of retreat before we can take a correct decision and deal with him appropriately. One-sided and superficial knowledge of conditions will inevitably lead to either "Left" or Right opportunist guidance of war. Lin Piao's so-called "three methods of fighting" inevitably resulted

from his one-sided and superficial understanding of conditions. As we know, flexibly deploying forces and varying tactics promptly and appropriately in accordance with such conditions as the enemy's units and our own and the enemy's terrain and our own in the course of war is an important means of changing the situation as between the enemy and ourselves and for seizing the initiative. One of the basic requirements of our army's tactical thinking is flexibility and mobility, flexible application of principles in light of actual conditions. Lin Piao's so-called "three methods of fighting" replaced flexible use and variation of tactics with such absurd concepts and rigid formulas as "not fighting reckless battles," "fighting reckless battles" and "half fighting reckless battles." The result was bound to lead to two extremes: not daring to fight at all and fighting recklessly if at all. This way a concrete embodiment of Lin Piao's military conservative and military adventurist errors.

Lin Piao's mechanicalist theory was also prominently shown in his "tactics of three-fierce," namely, "fight fiercely, charge fiercely, and pursue fiercely." This, as a battle slogan, was not Lin Piao's invention; it was first set forth by our Party-led units of the Northern Expeditionary Army during the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War. At that time, the firepower of both the enemy and ours was not strong and the defense works of the enemy were relatively poor. The Northern Expeditionary Army, by fighting, charging and pursuing fiercely, was able to push on and win great victories. But now such methods were no longer effective when the enemy offered stiff resistance behind difficult terrain and fortified works. Therefore, even if "three-fierce," as a battle slogan, played a very important role at that time under the concrete conditions of the Northern Expeditionary War, it was also inappropriate as a general tactical principle. Under conditions of the War of Liberation where the enemy's firepower was relatively strong, Lin Piao's "three fierce tactics," a battle slogan, were applied as a general tactical principle, and the result could only be action taken recklessly without regard to the enemy's movements, the terrain and the weather and without tactical considerations.

Chairman Mao points out: "Under correct war planning, it is absolutely necessary to encourage heroic sacrifice and the spirit and action of courageously marching forward." Fighting courageously and fearing no sacrifice has been our army's traditional style, which must be energetically displayed at all times. It is only with this fighting style that all techniques and tactics can be put to the best use. However, fighting courageously or fighting, charging and pursuing fiercely as we advocate is a kind of revolutionary, heroic action based on the class consciousness of the vast numbers of commanders and fighters under the conditions of having correct operational guidance with combat techniques integrated. Only when correct operational guidance is integrated with combat techniques is it possible to "take account of time and circumstances" in fighting, to use and vary tactics flexibly, and to adopt timely and appropriate measures to win a great victory at

minimum cost. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must encourage every Red Army commander to be a hero brave and intelligent, possessing not only the courage of overpowering everything but also the ability to master the changes throughout a war." To combine bravery and intelligence, to be "both intelligent and brave" -- this is a quality that the vast numbers of commanders and fighters of our army must possess at all times, and is an important condition for defeating the enemy. At no time should men of reckless action who go about without regard for the laws of war and without resourcefulness and who depart from correct operational plans be permitted to do as they please, and all of them must be firmly opposed. However, Lin Piao's "3-fierce tactics" set "fierce" against the guidance of correct operational plans, and set "bravery" against intelligence. Did he not call for "fighting recklessly," "come what may"? Did he not encourage the "spirit of tough work" and say "if we are finished, we are finished"? His "3-fierce tactics" turned people into adventurists paying no attention to strategy or laws. His one-sided metaphysical viewpoint was similar to his subjective idealism of "from the subjective to the objective" and "replacing material strength with the strength of thought."

"All the laws for directing war develop as history develops and as war develops; nothing is changeless." Strategic and tactical principles which serve as laws for directing war should vary in accordance with changing circumstances. However, as his world outlook was idealist and metaphysical and like all reactionary military theorists, Lin Piao invariably looked at the rules of war and tactical principles from a static and absolute viewpoint, and made the enemy's movements, determination, dispositions and methods of fighting as well as combat organization and formation something stereotyped and absolute. Take the "3-3 system" and "four groups, one team" for example. These originally were experiences summed up by our army under given conditions from triangular formation of units, combat organization of squads and commando forces. These experiences should and must be developed in keeping with military developments and changed in keeping with the changes in the enemy's defensive characteristics and in the conditions of our army's equipment, and must not be fixed rigidly. However, Lin Piao rigidly fixed them as general tactical principles, and ordered his units to apply them mechanically in battle. Ignoring the actual conditions of war, he cast the constantly changing situation on the battlefield and methods of fighting in a "mold," and wanted the conditions of war to adapt to his so-called "principles." He boasted that the "six tactical principles" were "iron principles" absolutely applicable. His diehard partners even asserted: "These principles will apply to future wars." Obviously, this absolute, static and metaphysical viewpoint can only find its basis from such idealist, philosophical concepts as the Confucians' "Heaven changeth not and likewise the Tao changeth not" and Dühring's "ultimate truth."

Military principles "are directly related to basic political principles." The "six tactical principles" are an important part of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line and serve nothing but his Right

opportunist political line. For many years he had energetically advocated and actively peddled these "six tactical principles" in an attempt to use them to oppose and replace Chairman Mao's strategic and tactical principles. On the eve of the 2nd plenary session of the 9th Party Central Committee, Lin Piao's men collected and published in book form articles on the "six tactical principles" as expounded by Lin Piao in the past and published it in quantity. They bragged that "this is a book on Marxist military arts and science" in an attempt to dress up Lin Piao as a "military genius" and to create public opinion for his plot to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat and restore capitalism. Because of this, we must make a penetrating criticism of Lin Piao's bourgeois military line in relation to his reactionary political line. Only thus can we recognize its reactionary essence, dig out its ideological roots and better eliminate its pernicious influence.

* * *

# Strengthen Revolutionary Unity, Develop the Excellent Situation

by

the Party Committee of the Huhehot Railway Bureau

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, February 1, 1975)

Following the development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has never been so consolidated, and the great unity of the people of all nationalities has continued to be strengthened. The successful holding of the 4th National People's Congress is an important sign of unity and prosperity. The new Constitution adopted at the Congress points out: "We must consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and develop the revolutionary united front." "The people of all nationalities in our country, unite to win still greater victories!" To resolutely respond to the call of the Congress and unite still more closely under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao is of vital significance in adhering to the Party's basic line, further developing the excellent situation, consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and winning new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in every factory, village, government office and school." We must, on the high plane of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, fully realize the importance of strengthening revolutionary unity. The dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, is dictatorship exercised by the broad masses of the people over the reactionary classes, reactionaries and elements resisting socialist transformation and opposing socialist construction. It is a dictatorship of the majority over the minority. By implementing the Party's basic line, strengthening revolutionary unity and uniting all forces that can be united, we can isolate a handful of class enemies to the maximum extent and trounce them accurately. The better we forge unity and the more people we unite with, the more isolated the enemies will find themselves and the better we can exercise effective dictatorship over the enemies and subject them to effective supervision and transformation. At all times we must treasure revolutionary unity, overcome all factors unfavorable to revolutionary unity, resist all speeches and acts harmful to revolutionary unity and wage tireless struggles against all acts detrimental to revolutionary unity. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius being unfolded in depth at the moment, we must seriously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, continuously criticize in depth the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's counter-revolutionary crimes in promoting revisionism, creating disunity

and conspiring and intriguing, assimilate what is beneficial to the proletariat from the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, and promote revolutionary unity further so as to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao says, "Only by uniting the great majority inside and outside the Party can things be done well." Under the centralized leadership of the Party, we must call into play all positive factors and unite all forces that can be united. It is only when all of us act in concert and fight together that we can implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies and develop the excellent situation. Due to interference from Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, revolution and production in our Huhehot Railway Bureau were sluggish for a time in the past. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, thanks to our thorough implementation of a series of important directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the revolutionary workers and staff of the Bureau, by criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius preaching restoration, regression and treason, have raised their consciousness of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought their socialist activism into full play. Inspired by Communist Party members, they have all vied to be promoters of revolutionary unity and to persist in grasping revolution and promoting production. This has brought about rapid changes in the backward features of our Bureau. Since the fourth quarter last year, the number of wagons loaded daily has averaged some 1,000, and state plans have been overfulfilled every month. The situation of revolution and production is getting better and better.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. By unity, we mean unity based on the Party's basic line. The basic line set by Chairman Mao for our Party for the whole historical period of socialism is the lifeline of our Party and state as well as the lifeline of the great unity of the people of all nationalities. This basic line has spelled out the criterion with which to distinguish right and wrong on important matters, given revolutionary unity a political content and indicated the correct direction for strengthening unity. Practice has shown that when they grasp the Party's basic line, both cadres and the masses will so sharpen their vision as to be able to perceive the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle in the socialist period. A clear line drawn between right and wrong and between the enemy and ourselves will enable us to consciously put first the interests of the Party and the people and the interests of socialism and to unite together to face the enemy under the great goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only such unity is unbreakable and will stand the test.

Persisting in arming the leading squad with the Party's basic line is the key to stronger revolutionary unity. The leading squad is the headquarters carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line

and policies and leading the masses in combat. As far as the relations between the leadership and the masses are concerned, generally speaking, the leadership takes the primary role, because whether or not it carries out a correct line and forges unity correctly has a direct bearing on the unity of the broad revolutionary masses of a given area or a given unit and on whether the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat can be fulfilled at the grassroots level. Therefore, the leading squad must take the lead in studying and implementing the Party's basic line and take the lead in promoting the unity of "a group of persons" on the basis of the Party's basic line. When its line consciousness is high and its unity properly forged, it can unite the cadres and the rank and file to march forward. If its line is not correct and it itself does not think and act in concert, this would have an adverse effect on the unity of cadres and the rank and file. For a time in our Bureau, a leading cadre, following an incorrect line, had too much worry when the masses rose up to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and wanted to stay away from them. This aroused dissatisfaction of the masses. Later, he seriously studied Chairman Mao's relevant instructions, examined himself against the Party's basic line, adjusted the line he followed and made sincere self-criticism. He was quickly forgiven by the masses, and the unity between cadres and the masses was enhanced. As the masses said, "When the line is correct and the leadership leads, the masses will be full of drive."

Strengthening the unity of the working class on the basis of the Party's basic line is of extremely vital significance in promoting the great unity of the people of all nationalities across the country. The working class is our country's leading class. "The unity of the working class is the prerequisite to the workers' victory." (Marx, "Ethical Criticism and the Ethics of Criticism") When the unity of the working class is strengthened, it will be possible to consolidate the alliance between the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and hence to unite with all forces that can be united with. This is undoubtedly of great importance in calling into play the leading role of the working class in the political life of the state, in carrying out the great cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in building our great mother country with success. We must apply the Party's basic line in continuously consolidating and strengthening the unity of the working class. Chairman Mao says, "Within the working class there is no fundamental conflict of interests. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable groupings." Chairman Mao's directive clearly indicates that it is not only necessary but possible to strengthen the unity of the working class on the basis of the Party's basic line. The Party's basic line represents the fundamental interests of the working class and the broad masses of laboring people. To unite and persist in the Party's basic line is the historical mission of the working class. When the working class has the Party's basic line, it can have everything. The worker masses fully realize that with this line, there are a thousand and one reasons to get united and not the slightest reason

to split. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must seriously carry out the Party's basic line and better enhance the unity of the working class.

Chairman Mao says: "Where there are masses, there are generally three sections of people -- those relatively active, those in the intermediate state and those relatively backward." Under the guidance of the Party's basic line, we must work well on these sections of people in light of different conditions. Our workers come from all parts of the country; some are young, some are old, some are from the local area while others are from other areas. They differ in their approach toward the same event or problem. In class struggle in society, various non-proletarian ideas may, through various channels, find reflection among the workers and exert an effect on them. Therefore, among the workers, there exist differences between the advanced, the intermediate and the backward. This is a normal phenomenon and nothing to be fussed about. Chairman Mao points out, "In work the working class must continuously study and gradually overcome its own shortcomings; it must never stop doing so." The task of the Party organization is to do penetrating and elaborate ideological work among the broad masses of workers, conduct education in the Party's basic line and unify everyone's thinking and action on the basis of the Party's basic line.

In the past, under the influence of Lin Piao's revisionist line, some cadres and workers in a mechanical section of our Bureau did not get along well with each other, thereby adversely affecting transportation operations. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party committee of this section, taking account of the realities of class and line struggles and of the revolutionary mass criticism and activities of comparing past and present,conducted an education on the Party's basic line, thus raising the consciousness of class struggle and line struggle on the part of the cadres and the masses. They recognized the fundamental fact that class struggle exists in socialist society, and drew a basic line of distinction between the enemies and ourselves. Said many workers: "We of the working class belong to one family. The traitor Lin Piao vainly attempted to divide us. Therefore, we must hate him more than anyone else." As profound class feelings had been aroused and misunderstanding cleared, "enemies" became close friends. This considerably enlightened and educated us, showing that however deep the misunderstanding that might exist among a few workers in the past, so long as they understand the Party's basic line and recognize the role of the working class in implementing the Party's basic line, they will share the same thoughts, the same language and the same feelings, whatever barriers existing between them will quickly vanish, and they will unite closely on the basis of the Party's basic line.

Our unity is the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants; it is the great unity of over 95 percent of cadres and the masses. To strengthen revolutionary unity means to unite this great majority,

arouse all positive factors, unite everyone that can be united, and turn by all possible means negative factors into positive ones in the interest of realizing the Party's basic line. This demands that we seriously enforce the general policy of correctly discerning and handling two different types of contradictions, a policy which is a concrete manifestation of the Party's basic line. Only by correctly distinguishing enemies from the people and adopting correct approaches to different types of contradictions can we unite the vast majority. If we should get confused about the nature of contradictions, make no distinction between enemies and ourselves or adopt an improper approach toward contradictions, we cannot possibly achieve the goal of uniting the vast majority. Here, we must pay particular attention to correctly handling the contradictions among the people.

We realize that in conformity with the formula "unity--criticism and self criticism--unity" advocated by Chairman Mao, to energetically unfold criticism and self-criticism and especially self-criticism is a good method with proven effectiveness for correctly handling the contradictions among the people and promoting revolutionary unity. Where there are contradictions between the leadership and the masses, the leading comrades should first make self-criticism and take the initiative to assume responsibility. Where there are contradictions among the masses, each should make more self-criticism on his own. Self-criticism means struggle against one's non-proletarian thoughts by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung and proceeding from the desire of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to better implement the Party's basic line. Self-criticism can strengthen revolutionary unity because it is a kind of active ideological struggle. In making self-criticism, one does not have to make long speeches but must be utterly sincere. In the case of those comrades who have committed mistakes or even serious ones, we should, guided by the policy "take warning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient," help them analyze their mistakes and the social, historical and ideological causes of such mistakes and draw the appropriate lessons from them, instead of simply tracing personal responsibility. After they have made self-criticism, we should welcome them; if they cannot recognize their mistakes for the time being, we should allow them some time to do so.

Chairman Mao points out, "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." The practice of socialist revolution and socialist construction proves the unqualified correctness of this brilliant assertion. In compliance with Chairman Mao's directive, we must unite the broad masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, other laboring people and revolutionary intellectuals, and all forces that can be united. Let us unite, adhere to the Party's basic line, continuously unfold the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, promote the excellent situation, fulfill the task

of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at every grass-roots unit and insure permanent, triumphant advance of our great socialist motherland along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

*  *  *

# Further Strengthen Unity Among Nationalities

by

Aimukan (阿衣木汗), poor-peasant commune member of the Uighur nationality, and
Samalikan (沙马力汗), herdsman of the Kazakh nationality, Sinkiang

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 2, February 1, 1975)

The triumphant convening of the 4th National People's Congress is a big happy event in the political life of the people of various nationalities in our country. The people of various nationalities in our border region, beating drums and gongs, are jubilantly hailing the grand unity of the people of various nationalities in the whole country, hailing the great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

The green pines on the Tienshan Mountains are inclined to the warmth of the Red Sun, and the emancipated peasants and herdsmen think of Chairman Mao day and night. The laboring people of various nationalities, especially working women, were condemned to the lowest strata in the old society and suffered untold hardship. This time we arrived in Peking, the capital of our great mother country, to attend the 4th National People's Congress and to discuss and decide on major affairs of state. This is something we could not even dream of before. Without Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, how could the laboring people of various nationalities be where they are today! In these days of joy, thinking of the past, looking at the present, and looking forward to the future, we can only say: Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought!

In the evil old society, like the Han people, the people of our various minority nationalities in Sinkiang were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes at home, politically discriminated against and enslaved and for long condemned to a life of utter misery. We were chained by the landlords and whipped by the herdowners. Dark clouds hovered over the vast grassland, and there was no way out for us poor people!

The sun rose to make the sky crimson. In 1949, the great leader Chairman Mao saved us from the sea of bitterness. Like the people of the whole country, we laboring people of various nationalities in Sinkiang stood up. Under the Party's concern and education, we continuously enhanced our political and ideological consciousness and one after another gloriously joined the great Chinese Communist Party, in addition to being elected members of the CCP Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. The sea may be deep, but not deeper than Chairman Mao's concern for us! Since the Party and Chairman Mao have

placed that much trust in us, we must redouble our efforts to work for the further strengthening of national unity and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Before the liberation, ruthless plunder and exploitation by the Kuomintang reactionaries and foreign imperialists had rendered Sinkiang extremely backward economically. At that time, the region had only a few poorly-equipped small factories and some handicraft workshops, incapable of producing even one pound of steel or one foot of machine-woven cloth. Agricultural production was for long in a primitive state, with very simple and crude implements, and even goat horns were used to plow the land. After the liberation, democratic reform, socialist revolution and socialist construction and especially the great proletarian cultural revolution have brought earth-shaking changes to Sinkiang. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and with the support of the whole country, the people of various nationalities in the autonomous region, developing the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work, have successively established such modern industries as iron and steel, coal mining, petroleum extraction, electric power generation, weaving and spinning, non-ferrous metal manufacturing, paper making and printing. Total industrial output value has grown by about 20 times over 1949. In the agricultural field, we have built many reservoirs and canals, opened up and brought under control the principal waterways in the region, and developed farm mechanization considerably. Compared with 1949, grain output has increased by two and a half times, cotton by ten times, livestock has been more than double.Gone are the days when nationalities were opposed to each other. Between them the relations are characterized by equality, unity, mutual help and cooperation. They develop and prosper together, striving to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate the socialist economic foundation. A tree has its roots and a river its source. All the achievements we have made represent a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; they are the solid fruit of the united struggle by the people of all nationalities.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us, "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities -- these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." This is absolutely true. From their personal experience the laboring people of all nationalities have realized deeply that the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat is closely related to the unity of all nationalities. Without revolutionary unity, there can be no victory for the revolution. The great leader Chairman Mao has all along shown concern for and attached importance to the great unity of the people of all nationalities. After Sinkiang was liberated, under the brilliant illumination of Chairman Mao's nationality policy, an education was extensively conducted in town and countryside concerning equality, unity, mutual aid and friendship among nationalities. Meanwhile, national regional autonomy was introduced. The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region came into being on October 1, 1955. In the

autonomous region, the various fraternal nationalities, respecting each other's customs and habits and caring for each other's characteristics and forms, have in prolonged struggle and labor learned from each other, cherished each other, and supported each other, forming a deep friendship among them. Large numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants and poor herdsmen of minority nationalities have become state functionaries, with many taking up leadership posts at various levels. All this has served to effectively consolidate the unification of the mother country, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and make Sinkiang a strong fortress guarding the western gate of the mother country.

The national question is an important part of the question of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Chairman Mao says, "National struggle, in the final analysis, is a question of class struggle." A nationality is divided into different classes. By national unity we mean class unity, revolutionary unity. In order to further strengthen national unity, the most important thing is to take the Party's basic line as the key link, energetically unfold class and line struggles, adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat, persist in continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. We have now toppled the landlord and bourgeois classes, and the laboring people of all nationalities have mastered political power. But the class enemies will not take defeat lying down. Just as Lin Piao advocated "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," a handful of class enemies in Sinkiang also vainly tried to change the regime. Though they came from different nationalities, they did the same evil thing -- to restore capitalism. If their counter-revolutionary plot should succeed, we would have to suffer again from exploitation, suppression and national discrimination and oppression. Workers, poor peasants and herdsmen and other laboring people among our various nationalities share the same fate. Under the leadership of the Party, we must further unite and fight against these class enemies resolutely, repeatedly and on a long-term basis so as to thoroughly smash their conspiracy to restore capitalism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that the socialist mountains and rivers will not change their color.

Adhering to the socialist road is the common desire of the laboring people of all nationalities. It is only on this basis that the socialist relations of equality, unity, mutual aid and cooperation can be built among the various nationalities. In the old society, the laboring people of our various nationalities suffered from class oppression and national oppression and disunity because political power as well as the land and other means of production were in the hands of the landlords and capitalists. Now we have freed ourselves from political and economic exploitation and oppression and become the masters of the country. We must listen to what Chairman Mao says and must never forget class struggle. We must strengthen our national unity in the struggle between the two classes and two roads. Like the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, we must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line,

persevere in the socialist revolution in the superstructure, set up the idea of farming for the revolution, dedicate ourselves heart and soul to revolution and to socialism, maintain and develop the socialist economic foundation, and build socialist new villages through self-reliance and hard struggle.

The General Principles of the new Constitution adopted at the 4th National People's Congress stipulates: "The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." This fully reflects the objective historical fact as well as the burning desire of the people of all nationalities to preserve the unification of the mother country. The laboring people of all nationalities in our country had suffered enough from a divided country in the past. Today, our country is united as never before. But the class enemies will not resign themselves to defeat but will try to make a comeback by ceaselessly carrying out divisive activities. We want to consolidate the unification of the mother country and strengthen national unity; but the class enemies at home and abroad want to divide us and wreck our national unity. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, for instance, have carried out a lot of subversive activities in Sinkiang, maliciously slandering our Party's nationality policy, wilfully sowing the seeds of dissension among us, and stirring up bourgeois nationalist sentiments in a vain attempt to extend the claws of aggression into Sinkiang. This struggle will still go on in the future. We must rub our eyes clear, raise our vigilance and never let the subversive plot of social-imperialism succeed.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." Chairman Mao and the Communist Party are the great saviors of the people of our various nationalities. Without the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, there would be no new China and there could not have been the emancipation and the happy life for the people of our various nationalities today. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we must unite closely, unify our will and action, continuously consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and defend and build up China's frontier areas.

* * *

# The Current Economic Crisis in the Capitalist World

by

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The new year 1975 sees the entire capitalist world engulfed in an atmosphere of gloom and frustration as the most serious economic crisis since the war is more and more fiercely pounding away at it. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are finding the going tougher day by day.

Called the "Dollar Empire," the United States has sunk into its sixth economic crisis since the war, after its 1970 crisis. Its gross national product continued to decline in 1974, a year which recorded the biggest fall since the war. Compared with the highest point (November 1973) before this crisis, industrial production dropped by 7.2 percent in December last year. Two of the "three big props" in industry -- the small car and building industries -- registered a considerable output reduction. In December last year car output declined by 35 percent on the same period of 1973. Compared with the highest point before the crisis, the number of houses built in November last year fell by about 60 percent, "being the sharpest fall since the 1930's." Output was either reduced or remained stagnant in such sectors as iron and steel, shipbuilding, machinery, industrial chemicals and non-ferrous metals. With its domestic market shrinking and private consumption expenditure falling, large stocks of goods could not be disposed of. Private fixed capital investments were down, factories generally operated with under-capacity, and a large number of enterprises went under. At the moment, the rate of unemployment has reached 7.1 percent, with the totally unemployed numbering 6.5 million, setting the highest record for the successive crises since the war. Due to the serious deterioration in economic conditions, the capitalists, feeling the dim prospects ahead, have generally lost confidence. The prices of the Wall Street stock market have fallen to the lowest point for the last 12 years. Even a spokesman for US monopoly capital has been obliged to admit: "The United States is experiencing the longest and the most serious economic slump since World War II."

The other superpower, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, has also sunk into grave political and economic predicaments. With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the socialist economy has degenerated into a state monopoly capitalist economy. Swayed by capitalist economic laws, the national economy has been developing more and more abnormally, with the proportionate relationship gravely undermined. While the military industry has been rapidly inflated, the civilian industry has developed very slowly. The average annual growth rate of industrial production as a whole has continued to decline.

Compared with the two Five-Year Plan periods from 1946 to 1955, it was lower by about one-third in the 8th "Five-Year Plan" period (1966 to 1970) after Brezhnev came to power. The targets laid down in the 9th "Five-Year Plan" that began with 1971 fell flat every year. Things are even worse in the agricultural sector. In the ten years since Brezhnev came to power, farm output dropped in six years. The output of cereals in 1974 fell by 12 percent on 1973. According to published Soviet official figures, from 1972 to 1973 the Brezhnev clique imported a total of 39.4 million tons of grain, or a net of 29.9 million tons after allowing for exports. It again ordered huge purchases of grain on the international market in 1974. As the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie is keen on militarizing the national economy resulting in ever worsening fiscal balances, it has incurred heavy debts at home and abroad. As a result, the self-styled "developed socialist country" has had to go begging abroad. Consumer goods needed for the people's daily life are in serious short supply and prices are soaring, leading to rampant black market and speculative activities and growing unemployment. In sharp contrast to the daily impoverishment of the vast masses of the laboring people, a handful of bureaucratic capitalists, ruthlessly exploiting the working class and other laboring people, are living an extravagant, dissipated life.

The current economic crisis is also sweeping across Japan, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and almost all capitalist countries. This is the second world-wide economic crisis since the war.

The current economic crisis is still a crisis of capitalist over-production, its root-cause found in the basic contradiction of capitalism, namely, the contradiction between social production and capitalist private ownership. What is meant by over-production is, not that supply has exceeded the actual demand of the laboring people, but that the daily expanding productive capacity under capitalism is accompanied by relatively shrinking purchasing power caused by the impoverishment of the laboring people. As a result, on the one hand, the capitalists are unable to dispose of their large accumulated stocks and can only allow them to rot or even burn them or dump them into the sea (in 1974 there were strange incidents among some capitalists where a huge quantity of fresh milk equivalent to several hundred thousand catties were poured down the drain and large quantities of cotton cloth and oranges were burned and destroyed). On the other hand, large numbers of workers were driven out of the factories and became the more impoverished as they produced more things. The crisis has brought serious hardship to the vast masses of the laboring people and gravely undermined the social productive forces.

Way back in 1947, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The economic power of US imperialism, which grew during World War II, is confronted with unstable and daily shrinking domestic and foreign markets. The further shrinking of these markets will cause economic crises to break out." It is under such circumstances that the current economic crisis has broken out in the capitalist world.

In recent years, with a view to reaping maximum profits and strengthening their competitive power, the monopoly capital groups in the major capitalist countries have desperately increased their fixed capital investments, thus blindly expanding their productive capacity. In 1973, as compared with 1970, US fixed capital investments grew by 25 percent, and Japanese investments in machinery and equipment rose by 50 percent. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique have also desperately stepped up their investments; from Brezhnev's assumption of power up to 1973, investments in capital construction increased by 69 percent, accounting for nearly 30 percent of the national income. In order to expand their production capacity, the monopoly capitalists have also provided industry with funds by expanding credits and artifically created social purchasing power and a false boom by means of consumer credits (installment payments, mortgage loans, etc.). The bourgeois governments, particularly the ruling groups of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have even adopted inflationary policies, increased their government spending and placed additional military orders so as to stimulate economic growth. As a result, the productive capacity of capitalism has been sharply inflated like a balloon and developed more and more abnormally.

Since the profits of monopoly capital are squeezed from the blood and sweat of the laboring people,a set of state monopoly capitalist measures adopted by the monopoly bourgeoisie have deepened the exploitation and plunder of the laboring people, thereby impoverishing them further. According to official statistics, 23 million Americans were below the "poverty line" in 1973. In that same year, each American had to use an average of 36 percent of his income to pay tax and out of his take-home pay had to use an average of one dollar out of four to pay off his debt and interest. In the Soviet Union, owing to the sharpening of class differentiation, the gulf between the poor and the rich is widening, and the laboring people have to carry a daily increasing burden. The residential tax alone rose in 1974 by 22 percent over 1971. According to the greatly deflated figures released by official quarters, "financially troubled families" "involved 25 million persons." This has further reduced the purchasing power of the laboring people and the domestic market has shrunk.

The more their home markets shrink, the more sharply the various capitalist countries will contend with each other for overseas markets. Joining the ranks of imperialism in dismembering the world, Soviet revisionism has resorted to frenzied external expansion and plunder, thus further making the already shrunken capitalist world market look like something akin to "more wolves but less meat." The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international exploiters of the contemporary era. Through export of capital and commodities, selling firearms and other means of exploitation, they wilfully plunder the people of the Third World. Particularly the Soviet revisionists have stretched out their hands even farther. In the name of "aid," they exported eleven times more capital to the Third World from 1960 to 1970. In 1970, compared with 1955, their exports to the Third

World rose by seven times and imports by six times. They reaped huge profits through buying cheap and selling high and other speculations. The Soviet revisionists are also the biggest ammunition merchants. In the past ten years and more their arms sales amounted to an aggregate of 28.5 billion US dollars. Both imperialism and social-imperialism are dependent on their colonies and semi-colonies for existence. Since World War II, the people of colonies and semi-colonies have awakened, and storms of struggle for political and economic independence have rison one after another. Especially during the past few years, with the extensive development of the struggle waged by the Third World raw-material-producing countries against imperialist political oppression and economic plunder, the international markets of imperialism and social-imperialism have shrunk further.

Blind expansion of the productive capacity in capitalist countries and further relative contraction of domestic and foreign markets make the outbreak of economic crises inevitable. This is independent of the will of the monopoly bourgeoisie. At first, bourgeois economists refused to recognize economic crises. Later, as economic crises appeared periodically like the satellite, they concocted a set of fallacies, describing economic crisis as an accidental phenomenon, or else they believed that state intervention might prevent the outbreak of crises. The representative of the advocates of the latter theory was Keynes, spokesman of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The so-called Keynesium was a product of the big capitalist crisis of the 1930's. After World War II, the monopoly capitalists of the various major capitalist countries, haunted by the frequent appearance of crises, had all along regarded Keynesium, and particulary inflationary policies, as the panacea for saving capitalism. However, now the monopoly capitalists, like wizards, can no longer control the spirits their spells had called forth. Currency inflation is more and more threatening almost all capitalist countries. Particularly since the beginning of the 1970's, inflation, like a wild horse freed from its reins, has been running rampant, unprecedented in its speed, the breadth of its scope and the gravity of its condition . In 1974 the rate of rise in commodity prices in major capitalist countr .es mostly reached the serious extent of two figures. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, continuing to increase their military spending in their contention for world hegemony, have also sought help from inflation, shifting the burden onto the laboring people. In 1972, compared with 1960, retail prices of more than 60 kinds of basic consumer goods in the Soviet Union soared by 30 percent. The margin of price increases on the free market has been even greater. Although inflation has greatly enriched the monopoly capitalists, it has further reduced the real purchasing power of the broad masses of the laboring people, thereby further aggravating the contradiction between expanding capitalist production and the relatively contracting demand. Not only has it failed to overcome the economic crisis, but has made it more serious. Then the monopoly capitalists practically lauded Keynes to the skies; today, they are complaining about the incompetence of the "doctor" and

are even looking forward to the birth of "a modern Keynes." This indicates that bourgeois economics has sunk into a deeper crisis. Recently, even the US bourgeois press has had to admit: "The United States in particular and most of the Western countries in general have suffered from a serious economic illness, and what is most annoying is that no one has any truly new prescription or prescription with proved effectiveness for curing this illness." Thus one can see the serious extent to which the poverty of bourgeois economics has reached.

The current economic crisis has broken out in circumstances where the capitalist international monetary and financial crises have been intensifying with each passing day. Since the beginning of the 1970's, the US dollar has been twice devalued, and the post-war capitalist international monetary system based on the US dollar has crumbled. The US dollar has fallen from its hegemonic position, the monetary and financial markets of the capitalist world have been in a greater turmoil, foreign exchange speculations have become more rampant, and the rush for gold has become a general practice. In recent years, the Soviet revisionists, taking advantage of the confusion in the Western financial market, have dumped huge quantities of gold and diamonds, re-sold raw materials, and stepped up their purchases of grain, thereby accentuating the financial chaos. At present, the various major capitalist countries have seen their foreign trade and international payments situation further worsen, incurring huge deficits. To meet their deficits, some countries have borrowed heavily. Due to the vicious circle of inflation, the sharp fall in bank savings and the greater difficulties experienced in capital turnover, the monetary and financial markets of the capitalist world have suffered seriously from "anemia," with credits becoming still more unstable. A number of big banks, including Franklin Bank, the 20th largest commercial bank with a total of 104 branches in the United States, have closed. The combination of the economic crisis and the international monetary and financial crises has made the capitalist world economy even more chaotic and precarious.

Since the current economic crisis coincides with the so-called "oil crisis," the monopoly capitalists want to attribute the crisis to the oil embargo and higher oil prices. This is futile. The so-called "oil crisis" is caused principally by the pursuit of the highest profits by monopoly capital groups, by the wanton waste of natural resources and by the anarchic state of production; essentially it is a reflection of the crisis of the capitalist system. For a long time the imperialists have brutally exploited and reaped huge profits from the oil-producing countries of the Third World. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists have also tried their utmost to expand their influence in the Middle East in an attempt to control the oil resources and seize the raw material bases there. The Soviet revisionists sized only 100,000 tons of oil from the Middle East in 1967, but by 1973 the figure drastically rose to over 12 million tons. It is something without precedent in history for the oil-producing countries of the Third World to pick up the "oil weapon" to counter imperialist exploitation and plunder. It has changed the unreasonable situation in which imperialism wilfully robbed the

raw material-producing countries of their wealth and caused those "developed industrial" countries, which had long been sucking the blood of the Third World countries, to experience serious difficulties caused by inadequate funds, thereby amply revealing the parasitic and feeble nature of imperialism. This, however, is definitely not the source of the crisis. As a matter of fact, long before the oil prices were raised, stagnant trends had already appeared in some industrial sectors of the Western countries. After the oil embargo was lifted in March 1974, their industrial production still continued to decline, showing that the oil price hike was not directly related to the economic crisis. Furthermore, since World War II, the capitalist world had experienced a number of crises when there was no "oil crisis." Even more ridiculous is the allegation that the oil price rise has caused the currency inflation in the West. Didn't commodity prices in the West keep soaring long before the Arab countries raised their oil prices? The fallacy trumpeted by the imperialists that inflation and the economic crisis in the Western countries were touched off by the use of the oil weapon by the Third World is designed solely to cover up the contradictions inherent in capitalism and to divert the attention of the people of their own countries.

The daily worsening of the capitalist economic crisis has aggravated the various basic contradictions in the contemporary world and sharpened the contention between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union everywhere in the world, with the focus in Europe flanked by the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Lenin pointed out: Imperialism, "in order to monopolize everything, has to edge out its competitors not only from its domestic market (the market in its own country) but also from foreign markets everywhere in the world." In order to shift the crisis onto others, US imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have stepped up their exploitation of their own laboring people, intensified oppression and exploitation of the people of the Third World countries, tightened their contention over raw material resources, marketing of goods and places of investment, and accelerated the militarization of their national economies. The inevitable result has been to further sharpen the various fundamental contradictions of the world and to make the contention between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, more acute. For example, the Soviet Union and the United States recently declared null and void their trade agreement signed by the two countries in October 1972. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique reneged from its secret deal with the United States in its struggle for world domination, and the United States refused to give the Soviet Union the most favored nation treatment. In recent years, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, begging the United States for "long-term, large-scale economic cooperation" and asking the United States for technology, loans and the most favored nation treatment, had made frequent secret deals with Washington, and attempted to use the relaxation of restrictions on the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union as bait to obtain US endorsement of the above-mentioned agreement. However, the United States, for its own interests, made public this dirty deal to sell out the interests of the Arab people and,

moreover, stipulated it in a legal form as the prerequisite for the fulfillment of the agreement. This then further belied the Soviet revisionists' so-called "consistent support" for the struggle of the Arab people against the Zionists, forcing them to cancel the agreement which they once advertised as a "fruitful contribution to strengthening the cause of the US-Soviet relations." Facts have once again shown that the so-called "mutual trust" between the United States and the Soviet Union is a fraud, and the very essence is the intensification of their contention.

Marx said: "A new revolution is possible only after a new crisis. But the advent of the new revolution is as inevitable as that of the new crisis." At present, the struggle of the people of various countries in the world against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism is continuing to surge forward, and the people of the Third World countries who have been most brutally oppressed and exploited by imperialism and social-imperialism have become the main force in the united struggle against hegemony. With the developing economic crisis and sharpening contention between the two hegemonic powers, the struggle waged by the people of the Third World against them will surely develop in a more vigorous way. In the meantime, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the imperialist and social-imperialist countries will further sharpen. In the major capitalist countries recently, workers' strikes have developed vigorously, with more and more workers participating and the scale of the strike getting larger and larger. Protests by farmers against declining income have also risen wave after wave. In the Soviet Union the vast masses of the laboring people have continued to develop their struggle against the Brezhnev renegade clique, and the class and national contradictions have intensified with each passing day. "Crisis is one of the most powerful levers of political change." Such heightened social contradictions and shaky political situation in the imperialist and social-imperialist countries have created an excellent situation for the people to make revolution.

With the deepening economic crisis, the big monopoly capital groups will inevitably further intensify their bourgeois dictatorial rule domestically and make use of revisionism as a tool to deceive the people, while internationally they will seek a way out through war. Chairman Mao points out: "The outbreak of imperialist world wars stem from the imperialist countries attempting to extricate themselves from new economic and political crises." The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are both dreaming of using militarization of their national economies to "stimulate" economic growth, delay and free themselves from the daily worsening economic crisis. But the result is to create serious consequences for their national economies and still sharpen more the contradictions inherent in capitalism. They are colluding and contending with each other, and collusion is for greater contention. Contention is bound to result in fighting some day -- either they will fight each other or the people will rise up in revolution. The two superpowers are both clamoring for "peace" and

"permanent peace" at that or for "detente." Is there such a thing? As long as imperialism exists, there will be no "permanent peace" but war. After World War I, the imperialist countries all talked "peace" and convened the drawn-out "disarmament conference" in Geneva. The result of their talks was World War II. Now, they are again sparing no efforts in talking "peace" and "detente." Historical experience shows that the imperialists clamor for "detente" in order to cover up the tensions resulting from their contention for hegemony and bellow about "peace" in order to keep obscured the preparations for war they are making. "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared." We must maintain a high vigilance.

The economic crisis in the capitalist world is still developing. The monopoly capitalists in various countries are worried and public opinion is pessimistic. Imperialism, particularly the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are beset with a host of contradictions. They are really in the difficult situation where "flowers fall off, do what one may." The proletariat and the revolutionary people the world over are viewing the future with full confidence, and the future world belongs to the people.

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